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Śucīndram Inscription of Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Martāṇda Varma: Kollam 646

By

Dr. K. K. Pillay,
Presidency College, Madras.

This inscription in Tamiḻ is found engraved on a stone pillar which originally served as one of the supports of the bathing ghat in the tank which lies to the north of the Śrī Sthāṇunāthasvāmi temple of Śucīndram. The inscription was recently discovered, and my attention was drawn to it by Śrī P. Parameswara Sarma, the Vaṭṭappaḷḷi Sthānikar of the temple.

The epigraph under consideration is of remarkable historical importance, for it throws light on the kings of the period to which it belongs. This Śucīndram inscription is dated 27th Iḍavam (Vaikāśi) 646 M.E.; and in this connexion it is important to remember that there is another epigraph on the northern wall of the Cempakarāman Maṇḍapa of the temple belonging to Vīra Rāma Varman dated 12th Cittirai 646 M.E.[1] Thus there was but an interval of about a month and a half between the two records. The king figuring in the Cempakarāman Maṇḍapa inscription is described as Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma, Tiruppāppūr Mūtta Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Illam, while the ruler mentioned in the subjoined inscription is described as Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mārtāṇḍa Varma Śrī Kulaśēkharaperumāḷ of Kīḻappērūr Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Illam. Obviously, the names denote two different rulers; and it would be interesting to know the relationship between these two. Other known facts do not support the seemingly obvious inference that the king of the latter inscription should have succeeded the one mentioned in the earlier record. Epigraphic evidence is positive that Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma continued to hold sway for several years subsequent to 646 M.E.[2]

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[1] Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. IV. p. 92 ff.

[2] See for example his Śucīndram Inscription of 654 M.E. T.A.S.. Vol, VIII, p. 23.

Another complication arises from the fact that there reigned during the same time a third ruler, as is gathered from certain epigraphs of the period. He was Āditya Varma whose inscription of 639 M.E., is found at Kṛṣṇaṅkōil, four miles north-west of Śucīndram, while another of his, dated 659 M.E., is seen in the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple itself in Śucīndram. He appears to have been identical with Kōdai Āditya Mārtāṇḍa Varma, mentioned in the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple Records.[3] A significant fact learnt from his Śucīndram inscription is that he was the elder brother of Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma. In the light of these facts it is evident that Āditya Varma was the principal ruler between 639 M.E., and 659 M.E., and that during a part of this period at least, Rāma Varma served as his co-partner.

But the problem still remains as to what the relationship was between Vīra Rāma Varma and Vīra Rāma Mārtāṇḍa Varma.[4] It may seem that the titles adopted by these two monarchs provide a clue regarding their respective political status. While Vīra Rāma Varma is described in his inscription as 'Tiruppāppūr *Mūtta Tiruvaḍi* of Kīḻappērur and of Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Illam,' Mārtāṇḍa Varma is merely spoken of as belonging to Kīḻappērūr and Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Illam; he is not described as 'Mūtta Tiruvaḍi'. If this negative circumstance indicates any thing, it is that Mārtāṇḍa Varma was at that time a subordinate or junior co-partner. Āditya Varma is known to have resided for the most part in Kalliḍaikkuṛicci, which then formed part of his dominion; Rāma Varma's activities, on the other hand, were largely in Nāñcināḍ; and, therefore, it is not improbable that another member of the royal family ruled in the northern region of Vēṇāḍ.[5]

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[3] See Appendix to T. K. Velu Pillai's State Manual, Vol. II, M. Doc. XI of 647 M.E.

[4] Assuredly, there is little justification for identifying this ruler with Śrī Vīra Rāma Mārtāṇḍa Varma Kulaśēkhara whose documents of the period—634 M.E.-645 M.E.,—are found among the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple Records, because from the same source it is learnt that this monarch's reign terminated in 645. M.E.

[5] It is known that during this period several branches were ruling over different portions of territory, the eldest assuming the title of the King of Vēṇāḍ and exercising a general authority over all. See V. Nagam Aiya: The Travancore State Manual Vol. II, p. 132.

Perhaps, Mārtāṇḍa Varma, figuring in the Varkalai inscription of 655 M.E., is identical with his namesake appearing in the Śucīndram epigraph. The simple description of the personage as 'Dhātripati' in the Varkalai[6] inscription cannot be made much of, as has been done by a recent writer.[7] The fact that the epigraph is engraved in Sanskrit verse in two lines covering barely a space of 7′ 2″ long by 4″ high, as well as the metrical requirements of the verse might have needed the omission of his titles and family name.

Text

1. Svasti Śrī Ka
2. liyuga saṁvatsa
3. ram nālāyirattu ainūṟṟu eḻupattu
4. raṇḍu cenṟa iḍapa
5. iccani kanni vi
6. yāḻattil ko
7. llam aṛunūṟṟu nārpattu āṛāmāṇḍu
8. iḍapa ñāyaṛu iru
9. pattu ēḻu cenṛa
10. veḻḻi ātc (c) aiyu
11. ṭpaḍu samayam pugaḻum
12. innāḷāl Uḍaiyār
13. tāṇumālaya pperumāḷ
14. kōvilu kōvilukku
15. vaḍakkin puṛattu
16. tirukkuḷamum tirukki
17. ṇaṛum kuḷappurayuṁ
18. kalluṁ keṭṭi tiruppa
19. ṇi ceyvitta kīḻpperūr
20. jayasiṁhanāṭṭu illa
21. ttil Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mār
22. ttāṇḍavan marāna Śrī
23. kula śēkarap perumāḷ paṇi
24. ceivittadu.

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[6] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV. p. 203-4.

[7] T. K. Velu Pillai: The Travancore State Manual, Vol. II. p. 132.

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kaliyuga year 4572 when Saturn occupied (the sign) Vṛṣabha and Jupiter was in Kanya Rāśi, corresponding to Friday the 27th of the month of Iḍabha in the Kollam year 646, Śrī Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ alias Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mārtāṇḍa Varma of Kīḻappērūr and of Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Illam constructed the holy tank, well and bathing ghat as well as the (flight of) steps of stone to the north of the temple of Uḍaiyār Sthāṇumālayapperumāḷ.

The Colanpūrvapattaiyam: Its Historical Value

By

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University of Madras.

This work bearing a long name and of apparently uncertain historical worth has been published by the Government of Madras three years ago under the able editorship of Rao Bahadur C. M. Ramachandran Chettiār, Advocate, Coimbatore.[1] It is time that we scrutinise this work and assess its historical value.

This work which purports to be a rendering of an old copper plate of the Cola king discovered in Kāncipurā seeks to describe the way in which society and Government were organised in Kongu and how several castes of people particularly the *Vellālās, Kaikōlās* (Idangaiyar) and the *Chettis* (Valaṅgaiyar) were brought into this region and settled under the aegis and the immediate supervision of the Cola King. Though there is much that is nebulous and out-of-joint in the statements made in this work, it seems to be unnecessary to underestimate its value particularly from the point of view of social history. For one thing a stone record coming from Śangramanallūr (Coimbatore Dt.) and dated in the LXV regnal year of Vira Rājēndra mentions the offerings made in the Colēśvara temple of the place by one Kaciyarāyan.[2] If the identification made by Mr. V. Rangachari of this chieftain with his namesake in the *Colanpūrvapattaiyam,* who appears in it as the leader of the *Kaikōlās,*[3] be accepted the chronological limit of the events narrated in it is at once established, thus giving us a basis to understand and state its historical worth.

The date of the record needs however to be looked into more elaborately to understand the events it describes. It is clearly mentioned in this work that the Cola King Karikālā colonised the

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1. See Madras Government Oriental Mss. series, No. 5 (1950).
2. 136 of 1909.
3. See V. Rangachari, *Topographical List,* Vol. I, p. 567.

Kongu country with people of various tribes and castes building temples wherever he went, dividing the country into suitable administrative units and arranging for the management of both the temples and the administrative divisions. Now, this does not certainly refer to Karikālā of the Śangam times but to one of the rulers of the Imperial Cola line some of whom are entitled Karikālā. To which of these kings does the *pūrvapattaiyam* refer is the question central to this discussion. I have no doubt that it is to Kulottunga, the third of the name, that the document refers; and I shall indicate below my reasons for this conclusion.

1. In the first place the title, 'Karikālā' is prominently associated with this Cola king in the inscriptions of the times.

2. The Kongu records of his time give unmistakable indication of great social and administrative changes in progress in this region—the very facts to which the copper plates in question refer. No less than six inscriptions have been noted by the Government epigraphist during the field season 1910-11 in the premises of the Amāraphaniśvarā temple at Pāriyūr (Gōbi Tk.) all of which refer to the activities of the King on these lines.[4] One of them, for example, mentions 20 divisions of the territory covering a large portion of N. Kongu; and reference is made in these records to places like Pāndikkodumudi, Karuvūr, Tiruppukkūdal, Tiruvañjimākkūdal, Tirumuruganpūndi, Avināsi and Annūr of S. Kongu—places also mentioned in the *Pūrvapattaiyam.*

3. The *Pūrvapattaiyam* mentions that it was from Kāncipurā that the Cola king proceeded into Kongu, a fact that is not obviously seen from the Cola inscriptions of any period whatsoever; and yet the copper plates in question do make mention of it. But it is with regard to Kulottungā III that inscriptions mention his stay in the city of the Pallavas, where he is said to have been interested in the resuscitation of the Ekāmbareśvarā temple of the place. Many inscriptions of the King also mention names of many of his feudatories in and around the region of Kāṇcipurā, among whom is found the name of the powerful Kādavā chieftain, Kacciyarāyan who is mentioned as being contemporaneous with Kulottungā.[5] An

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[4] 185-188; 190-191 of 1910.

[5] 80 of 1900; 301 of 1897; 240 of 1901. The very mention of Kacciyarayan seems to substantiate the truth of the argument here.

inscription recounting the achievements of the Kādavās is found in Tiruvennainallūr and thus indicates the ambit of their influence.[6] The Sadaiyappa Mudali of the *Pūrvapattaiyam* is mentioned therein as Sadayappa Mudali of Vennainallūr, which would possibly indicate that the sphere of the latter's influence commenced where the influence of the former ended. Obviously the three caste leaders mentioned in the copper plates—Kaciveeran, Kasturiranga Chetty and Vennainallūr Sadaiyappa Mudali—were chieftains of contiguous territories round Kāncipūra. It was possibly with these men taken from Kāncipūra that Kulottungā effected the conquest of Kongu between the years 1190 and 1194 A.D., to which his inscriptions pointedly refer.[7]

4. Now taking the history of Kongu itself the Cōlā conquest or reconquest was called for at that time. This was the period of the Kongu-Cōlā King, Vira Cōlā II, who taking advantage of the weakness of the Cōlā power had brought "the two Kongus (north and south) under his sole white parasol" and it was a question for Kulottungā either to assert his power in the region or give it up once for all. There is truth in what the *Pūrvapattaiyam* says that it was from Kāncipurā that the Cōlā entered into Kongu. We have definite inscriptional evidence that a few years before he conquered Kongu his feudatory, the Telugu Cōlā chieftain in Kāncipūrā, had risen against him and he had to be defeated. Nallasiddhā—for that was his name—was conquered by the Cōlā in 1204 A.D. which marked his 26th. regnal year. The recovery of Kāñci is, however, mentioned in his inscriptions of the 24th. regnal year itself.[8] The conquest of Kongu must have taken place round about the same time, since the conquered province of Kongu is first mentioned as Vira-cōlā-mandalam in a record of the 26th. regnal year of Kulottungā.[9] The destruction of Śalivāhanā to which the copper plates refer must refer to this event, unless it be taken that it is a mythological addition like the mention of Manu Cōlā in the same record.

No historical document worth the name can establish a chronological junction between Manu and Salivāhanā. The same has to be said when the document apparently seeks to establish the contemporaneity of the Cōlā King referred to in it on the one hand and the Cērā King Cēramān and the great Śaiva ālwār, Śundarmūrthi on the other. It is useless to try to establish the date of the copper plates with reference to the dates of either the Cēramān or Śundaramūrthi. In the first place their own dates are not yet put beyond question; and more than that, the IX century in which they are placed would not explain the events mentioned with regard to the Cōlā both in the Copper plates and in the well authenticated inscriptions of this period.

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[6] 463 of 1921.
[7] 397 of 1925.
[8] 2 of 1905.
[9] 227 of 1917.

What had really happened was that Śundarar and the Cēramān had passed through Kongu in their own day and nearly 400 years after came the Cōlā emperor Kullottungā III over the same region. The peregrinations of these men had made a great mark on the religious and social history of their respective periods and the later day historian, the composer of the copper plates, would seem to have combined them all in one account another four hundred years after at the dawn of the XVII century, in which the *Mss pūrvapattaiyam* is dated.

All pieces of evidence, epigraphical, circumstancial and otherwise seem to point only to this conclusion. But even more telling is the internal argument drawn from the very contents of the work. The two great points which the work seeks to portray—the building of temples and the organisation of society—are best verified only in the history of the reign of Kulottunga III at least so far as Kongu is concerned. Two epigraphs engraved on the door-posts at the entrance of the āśthāna-mantapā of the Amārabhaniśvarā temple at Pāriyūr refer to the gift of the door posts by two men; in the same way two other epigraphs from the same spot refer to the setting up of a feast in the name of the King mentioned as Tribhūvana Cākravartin Kōnērimaikondān (obviously kulottungā) and provision for the same.[10] The most important of this group of records is, however, the one referring to certain privileges granted to "the *kammālar* of Kāñcikūvalnādu", which was a district of N. Kongu. [11] This record dated in the XV regnal year of the same king has its echo in another record of the same year referring to the same subject in Vangalanādu and six other districts of the same region as also of S. Kongu.[12] This record seen in Karūr of the old Vengalanādu is found to contain matter which is identically the same with regard to both date and matter that is contained in various records found in places like Pērūr and Modakkūr in S. Kongu.[13] Not only do the dates of these epigraphs tally with the date of Kulottunga's capture of Karūr; but paleographically also they seem to belong without doubt to the same period.[14] The evidence of all this points to the two facts mentioned in the Cōlā Conquest mentioned in the *pūrvapattaiyam*—the construction of temples and the introduction of new castes—, which seems strongly to support the thesis maintained here with regard to the date of the record in question.

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[10] 187, 188 of 1910. Many records (for ex. 416-18 of 1913) refer to similar temple service in the reign of Kulottunga in Salem district as well.

[11] 186 of 1910.

The historical value of the *Cōlanpūrvapattaiyam* gets a meaning and a point when once its date is fixed. The document refers to numerous religious and social changes of the times in Kongudēśa and is thus a mine of sociological and religious data. The manners and customs of the people of the times are here pictured with great detail. Reference is made also to the system of Village government and temple administration prevalent during the period. Pre-eminently the age was a period of a great social flux, the growth of caste rigour. The Cōlā King is here mentioned as having introduced into Kongu the three great castes of *Kaikōlar, Chettis* and *Vellālās* with the respective heads of caste. The two-fold classification of castes into the Right hand castes (*Valangai*) and Left hand castes (*Idangai*) are mentioned in this record. The fact that in S. India castes were all occupational in origin is to be seen from this work clearly. It mentions as many castes as there were occupations and relates the rights and privileges of every one of these and the *birudās* which each one maintained. Offences against caste and the punishment imposed for them are treated in this record in great detail. The officers of Village administration—the *Karnam* the Headman and the Village Guard—and those of the temple from the *Pūjari* or the temple priest to the *Tiruvalagu* or the temple sweeper are mentioned here in order of their importance. The temple dancer and her recompense at the hands of the temple authorities—the gift of the *Kandarangi*[15] saree which was an annual feature—are also mentioned. The various deities of popular Hinduism are recorded here including many forest deities and the *muppali* including the offering of human life which were offered as sacrifice to them. It is said in this document that during this period the custom of human sacrifice was being vigorously stopped.

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[12] S.I.I., Vol. III, pp: 46 ff,

[13] 151 of 1905.

[14] See ARE.. 1910-11, pp. 75 ff.

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[15] A fast coloured saree in use in the southern districts of S. India till recent times.

The British Expedition to Rangoon, 1824

By

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
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Apart from the immediate occasions which led to the outbreak of the First Burmese War during the administration of Lord Amherst, the real cause of the conflict with Burma was the expansion of the Burmese empire to an immediate contact with more than six hundred miles of the North-Eastern frontier of British India. The claims of the Burmese to the British sphere of influence beyond the Brahmaputra, and their actual conquest of the Assam region at a time when there was no effective defensive barrier along the North-Eastern frontier must have led to a war[1] sooner or later between the British and the Burmese.

But, it is amazing that the First Burmese War was begun with little care and forethought. Firstly, the war was prosecuted from quadruple points, viz, from Goalpara into Assam; Sylhet into Cachar; Chittagong into Arracan; and, by sea, to Rangoon, without adequate preparations or troops. Secondly, the British authorities were ignorant of the main theatres of war. Thirdly, they were equally ignorant of the strength and preparations of the Burmese. Fourthly, the manner in which the operations were commenced by the British army was strangely wavering, so there was great delay in the execution of the operational plans. Lastly, Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget[2] who were ultimately responsible for the supervision of the military operations were lacking in foresight and statesmanship. They were unable to come to sound decisions always, and the power of the Burmese was woefully underestimated. They were much too sanguine in their hopes of quick victory. The consequence of all this was disastrous to the British forces in the early stages of the war.

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[1] Vide Lord Amherst's proclamation, March 5 1824.

[2] He was the Commander-in-Chief.

The expedition[3] to Rangoon in 1824 is an example of the mismanagement which was seen on all fronts during the opening of the war. A study of this expedition from the available original sources[4] would serve to illustrate the manner in which the British authorities managed to bungle through after a succession of errors and miscalculations which have not received due attention from the historians so far.

Sir A. Campbell was put in charge of the expeditionary forces[5] which numbered about 12,000 rank and file. The naval armament was placed under the charge of Commodore Grant. The starting point fixed was Port Cornwallis. Here the combined fleets assembled by the end of April. The following day-to-day summary account of the Rangoon expedition in 1824 is reconstructed on the basis of the contemporary despatches and unofficial reports.

May 5—The combined fleets started from Port Cornwallis[6]

May 8—His Majesty's ship Slaney, with three transports having on board three companies of his Majesty's 13th Infantry, and seven companies of the 40th regiment of Bengal Presidency with a proportion of artillery, the whole under the command of Brigadier M'Creagh, stopped near the Arracan coast for the conquest of the island of Cheduba. The cruizer Mercury with some troops[7] parted for Negrais island.

May 10—The main division of the expedition anchored[8] within the bar of the Rangoon river. The Burmese opened fire from their batteries, which was returned.

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[3] The expedition was decided on early in March. The Bengal division sailed between 14th and 17th of April.

[4] Bengal Secret and Political Consultations Foreign Department Volumes Parliamentary Papers relating to the First Burmese War (Session 1825, etc.).

[5] Five companies of the Bengal army, four his Majesty's regiments, nine regiments from Madras and two regiments which were added towards the close of the year.

[6] On the Great Andaman.

[7] Under Major Wahab.

[8] His Majesty's ships were Liffey, Larne, Sophia, and Slaney. There were several Bombay cruizers and a fleet of gunboats and small craft.

May 11—The troops landed at 3 P.M. above the town and in other directions. No opposition was met. Many of the houses[9] in Rangoon were destroyed by the Burmese.

May 12—A party pushed into the jungles around Rangoon.

May 14—The boats of LIFFEY pushed about eighteen miles up the river as a reconnaisance. They were frequently fired on from both banks.

May 16—The first serious brush with the Burmese took place.[10] The Burmese stockades appeared to be strong. Fighting was in progress in Cheduba.

May 17—Some stockades in Cheduba[11] were carried by assault.

May 18—The Raja of Cheduba fell into English hands.

May 27—Major Wahab reached Rangoon from Negrais.[12] The Burmese assemble round Rangoon and erect stockades and works on all points but the rear.

May 28—The English artillery, having been drawn through[13] mud and marsh, got jaded. The Burmese fought with such bravery that the English troops had to retire.

May 29—Brigadier-General M'Bean moved out to the scene of yesterday's fighting, but had to retire again.

May 30—Captain Piper moved from the Dagon Pagoda.

June 3—The British columns had to fall back without effecting anything. They suffered from the defenders' fire. The failure of these columns was due to mismanagement and hastiness.

June 10—The Burmese works at Kemendine were attacked by land.[14]

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[9] The inhabitants were driven off to a man by the Burmese authorities.

[10] At Kemendine. The Burmese suffered losses here.

[11] Here also the defenders lost some men.

[12] The island was found uninhabited and uninhabitable from want of fresh water.

[13] Sir A. Campbell was responsible for this.

[14] With a force of 3000 men and four guns, four mortars. and ordnance of low calibre.

June 11—Two hours of desultory fighting. The Burmese could retire with ease with their dead and wounded.

June 12 and 30—Between these dates, the British could make little or no advance.

July 1—The Burmese advanced with success and gained possession of a height near the Pagoda.

July 2 to 7—Capt. Isaack was killed.[15] The lines of Rangoon were completely invested by the Burmese night and day.

July 8—The Burmese fell back after some loss. The country was too deeply flooded to admit of easy communication.

July 19—A column was obliged to retreat mainly on account of the floods.

August 4—The Burmese established themselves at Syriam,[16] but were dislodged.

August 8—Col. Kelly had to retire to Rangoon.

August 19—Col. Miles started against Mergui and Tavoy.[17]

August 26 to 29—The Burmese assemble in great force around Rangoon.

August 30—The Burmese fought successfully[18] and inflicted losses on the British army.

Sept. 2—The Burmese reoccupied some stockades on the Dalla creek, but were repulsed.

Sept. 5 and 6—The Burmese attacked the Dalla creek, but without much success.

Sept. 21—Brigadier-General Fraser left in the direction of Paulang. The Burmese offered no resistance.

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[15] Near Dalla, opposite to Rangoon. Capt. Isaack commanded 12th regiment N.I.

[16] About ten miles west of Rangoon.

[17] Tavoy surrendered on the 8th September and Mergui on 6th October. The Burmese are stated to have suffered severely.

[18] Under cover of night, they made a surprise attack.

Oct. 5—The British attacked the pagoda of Kykelee,[19] but were repulsed with heavy losses. The British troops were in a demoralised state. The Sepoys were also sullen. Neither the entreaties, nor the example of the officers could overcome the backward disposition of the troops. Col. Smith, therefore, had to make the best retreat he could.

Oct. 9—As the Burmese could not be pursued, Brigadier M'Creagh had to retire.

Oct. 19—An unsuccessful attempt was made on the Burmese positions on the island of Ramree.[20]

Oct. 29—The fort of Martaban was carried by escalade.

November—During this month the British troops had no success. The Burmese were gradually collecting around the British lines. It was reported that the Burmese troops under the Maha Bundoola numbered 50,000.[21] Their stockaded positions were pushed up the British picquets.

December 1—The Burmese opened their attack vigorously.

December 2—The British made a counterattack.

December 3 and 4—The Burmese continued to push forward.

December 5—The Burmese brought forward all their resources in artillery.

December 6—The Bundoolah made a vigorous attack and pushed his approaches against the Dagon Pagoda.

December 7—The Burmese suffered heavy loss. The British losses were also heavy.

December 8—The British had some success near Dalla.

December 10 to 13—The Burmese held their ground in great force and prepared for an offensive.

December 14—The Burmese penetrated into Rangoon. There was great confusion in the city. Fires broke out in several places.

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[19] About fifteen miles from the base at Rangoon.

[20] The attempt was made by Lt.-Col. Hampton officer commanding at Cheduba, with the aid of the frigate, the Hastings.

[21] The Prince of Sarrawady was there along with the Maha Bundoola.

The Burmese continued their assaults. The British suffered heavy losses. Half the city of Rangoon was completely destroyed with the British stores. The Burmese were strongly entrenched in front of the Dagon Pagoda. The prospect was dark for the British.

December 15—The British suffered heavy losses, as the Burmese were superior in numbers[22] and had a strong position and stockades. The 13th Infantry suffered severely, and a part of the regiment was completely annihilated. The British made the serious mistake of keeping their rear weak. The Burmese also suffered some loss. Their commander, Maha Silwa was reported to have fallen. With this repulse, the Rangoon operations of 1824 ended.

The Rangoon operations of 1824, therefore, proved costly for the British. The losses were indeed frightful. All this was due to blundering on the part of the high command. It is strange that little was done to gain a full knowledge of the terrain. Very little was known about the people of the country and their preparations. Decisions at critical moments were faulty, and so the Burmese could inflict heavy losses. The resources at the disposal of the British were inadequate. Provisions, boats, elephants and land carriages were in short supply. Transport was extremely difficult. Food was scarce and what was available was bad. The climate was unfavourable. The operations were started wrongly when they could not and should not have been prosecuted. The expedition was hopelessly mistimed. The want of information as to the nature and extent of the Burmese resources was due to the non-existence of an intelligence department.

What was most surprising was not the fact that an impossible season was chosen, but the fact that the expedition was considered at the outset to be something like a pleasure trip. A wholly inadequate army was sent to Rangoon, and even this was at first regarded as unduly large. The Military Secretary to Government had in vain dissented to the employment of a small army, for the authorities did not understand the gravity of the requirements.

Sir A, Campbell, the Commmander-in-Chief, proved unfit for the job entrusted to him. He had no idea of the enormous handicaps imposed by the monsoon rains. He made no effort to ensure regular food supply and transport. Carriage cattle could not be obtained for many months even from India. In short, the chief man in command was utterly incompetent. It is hardly surprising, therefore, if the British losses were enormous, and if the flower of the British army perished needlessly on the Rangoon coast at the most inclement season, and in a tropical climate, and in the wilderness and marshes of Burma.

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[22] The Burmese force was estimated at 20,000.

The British army covered themselves with no glory on account of military victories. But, they discredited themselves by their shameless plunder. This was an infamy which was a result of sheer mismanagement and unfettered greed. The Commander-in-Chief's son-in-law himself was responsible for the plundering which went on in and around Rangoon. No attention was paid to the feelings of the local people, and they were needlessly outraged. The religious prejudices of the people were disregarded cruelly, and their sentiments were flouted without a sense of justice. The loot was unrestrained. Even temple images and materials were robbed and taken away. The unholy booty was shipped to Calcutta and Madras to such an extent that the auction-marts echoed with the shouts—*"Going! Going! This superb image of Buddha, just landed from Rangoon."!* The military authorities were on the point of demolishing the great Dagon Pagoda in the belief that it concealed hidden treasures. After breaking the terraces, and damaging the temple at all corners, the British iconoclasts realised that no wealth could be had, and so the great Pagoda escaped total destruction. Even in war time such sacrilege of which the British were guilty could hardly be excused.

The Rangoon expedition of 1824 was one of the most ill-timed, ill-provided, ill-managed and ill-executed operations ordered by the Company's Government in India. And, the loot and sacrilege committed at Rangoon would remind one of the exploits of Mahmud Ghazni at Somnath!

Neminātha, A Jain Prophet

By

Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S.

Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi was the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara[1] or Tīrthakara (founder of school) of the Jainas. He was so called because he established the *tīrtha* or school. He figures as the supremely gifted Kṣatriya teacher and leader of thought, who gathered around him many disciples, male and female, and he was honoured and worshipped by them. He was a person of pure faith who always realised the truth. He obtained purity and stood firmly in the Law. He cast aside all fellers and all hatred. He practised self-discipline, meditated on his soul, wise, hardy, calm, and did not hurt anybody in this world. He fully conquered 22 troubles, viz., hunger, thirst, cold, heat, ignorance, erratic life, women, dirt etc. His self was subdued and he abstained from killing beings, theft, falsehood, sensual pleasures, and spirituous liquor. He was free from delusion, pride, deceit and greed. He was self-controlled and obtained liberation by the absence of passion.

All Tīrthaṅkaras reached *nirvāna* at their death. Though being released from the world they neither cared for nor had any influence on worldly affairs. They have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as gods by the Jainas. Temples are erected in their honour where their idols are worshipped.[2] The worship of the idols of the Tīrthaṅkaras is mentioned in some canonical Jain texts. But no rules are laid down for their worship.[3] The Jainas believe that their religion is eternal and it has been constantly revealed in the endless succeeding periods of the world by the Tīrthaṅkaras. The Jainas themselves claim for their religion a venerable antiquity. They tell us that before Mahāvīra there lived not less than 23 Tīrthaṅkaras who appearing at certain intervals, preached the only true religion for the salvation of the world.[4] The adoration of the 24 Jinas is one of the tenets of Jainism as a practical religion.[5] The favourite Tīrthaṅkaras are Riṣabha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[6] It is corroborated by the Kahāuṃ Inscription which refers to the five stone images of *Ādikartris* (originators) or Tīrthaṅkaras set up by a Madra. These represent, according to Bhagwanlal Indraji, the five favourite Tīrthaṅkaras, one of whom was Neminātha.[7]

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[1] Hemachandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi,* Ch. I, vs. 26-28.

[2] *Indian Antiquary,* XXXII, 459 ff.

[3] M. Stevenson. *Notes on Modern Jainism,* 13 ff., for the Śvetāmvara view-point.

It is interesting to know the literature gathered about Neminātha. The epic *Mahāpuruṣacaritra* contains life-stories of these five saints, who were most especially honoured by the Jainas, and the biographies of these five greatmen are the most popular themes of narrative poetry.[8] The *Nemibhaktāmaram* by Bhāvaprabha Sūri contains allusions to the legend of Neminātha and Rājimatī.[9] The *Brihaḍ-Harivaṃśapurāṇa* or *Ariṣṭanemipurāṇasamgraha-Harivaṃśa* edited by Darbārī Lāla Nyāyatīrtha, which was written by Jinasena in 66 Sargas, *Nemināhacariu* in Apabhraṃśa written by Haribhadra in 12th century A.D., *Nemi-nirvāṇa* by Bāgbhaṭa and *Nemidūta* by Vikrama elicit some information about Neminātha. The sayings of the sages (*Isibhāsiyas*) consist of 45 chapters. They are expositions of forty-five *Pratyeka-buddhas* (individual Buddhas). Out of 45 chapters 20 belonged to *tīrtha* of Neminātha.[10]

There lived a good king named Samudravijaya in Śauripura, a big town on the bank of the Yamunā. He had a son named Ariṣṭanemi by his queen Śivādevī. He was named Ariṣṭanemi because his mother saw in a dream a *nemi*, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of *riṣṭa* stones flying up to the sky. Ariṣṭanemi was also called Neminātha. Girnār or Raivataka hill is considered to be his birth-place.[11] He possessed many good qualities and acquired

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[4] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 153.

[5] Law, *Mahāvīra, His Life and Teachings,* p. 106.

[6] Shah, *Jainism in North India,* p. 209; *Kalpasūtra,* p. 126.

[7] *I.A.,* X, 1881, pp. 125 ff.

[8] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. II, p. 510.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 557.

[10] H. R. Kapadia, *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas,* p 169; Vide *Isibhāsiya-saṃgahaṇi,* Rutlam, 1927.

[11] It is close to Junāgaḍh in Gujarat. It contains the temples of Neminatha and Pārśvanātha. The river Suvarṇarekhā flows at the foot of the hill. There is a footprint on the Girnar hill known as the *Gurudattacaraṇa*—Law *Geographical Essays,* pp. 211-12.

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extensive knowledge. He was gifted with an excellent voice and possessed one thousand and eight lucky marks of the body. His skin was black. His body was strong like that of a bull and hard like steel. He was well-proportioned. He was ten bow-shots in height.

King Samudravijaya, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king, had nine younger brothers; the youngest of whom was Vāsudeva. Many kings and richmen gave their daughters in marriage to Vāsudeva for personal beauty and good quality. Of his many queens Rohiṇī and Devakī gave birth respectively to Baladeva and Śrīkrişṇa who became very powerful.

Not far from Śauripura (Soriyapura or Śauryapura) there stood a big town named Mathurā ruled over by a tyrant king named Kaṃsa, who was so very cruel that he sent his father to prison and tortured him in various ways. Kaṃsa was killed by Śrīkrişṇa and Baladeva, who reinstalled Ugrasena on the throne. The powerful king Jarāsandha grew very angry when he heard of the death-news of his son-in-law, Kaṃsa. Ugrasena then left his kingdom with his family. On reaching Kathiawar he built on the bank of the sea a very big town which he named Dvārikā. Śrīkrişṇa was so very powerful that he became the king of Dvārikā. Big palaces and temples were built and markets were opened. This town looked pretty. Prettiest of all was the armoury of Śrīkrişṇa. One day while walking with his friend Neminātha came to the armoury where he found a beautiful conch. While Neminātha was about to take up the conch with the intention of blowing it, he was advised by the guard of the armoury not to make futile attempt at lifting the conch, as none but Śrīkrişṇa had the power to do so. Neminātha smiled, took the conch, and blew it hard. Everybody became thoughtful. Śrīkrişṇa too was greatly surprised. As soon as he heard from the armoury-guard that his cousin Neminātha had blown the conch, he decided to test the strength of his cousin. His invitation to a duel was accepted by Neminātha who, however, suggested that each would lower down the outstretched arm of the other. Śrīkrişṇa accepted the suggestion and stretched his arm which was quickly lowered down by Neminātha. Śrīkrişṇa in his turn tried his utmost to lower down the outstretched arm of Neminātha, but all his efforts were in vain. He then believed that Neminātha was surely stronger.

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Neminātha was asked by his parents to marry and he assured them that he would marry as soon as a suitable girl would be found. Rājimatī (Rāyamatī or Rājamatī or Rāīmaī),[12] daughter of King Ugrasena, was found to be the most suitable bride for him. She was virtuous and good looking and possessed all the lucky marks on the body.[13] Necessary arrangements were made for Neminātha's marriage ceremony. The entire town was tastefully decorated. Rājimatī, the bride-elect, was delighted to see Neminātha and considered herself to be the most fortunate for having such a beautiful husband. Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha dressed himself properly after taking his bath and performing the customary ceremonies. He was bedecked with ornaments. With great pomp and splendour the hero of the Vriṣṇis,[14] Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha started from his own palace. On his way he saw animals kept in cages and enclosures, overcome by fear and looking miserable. He enquired of his charioteer thus, 'Why are all these animals kept in cages and enclosures'? The charioteer answered, 'At the wedding they will furnish food for many people.' Fully knowing the slaughter of many animals the great sage Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha full of compassion and kindness, meditated thus, 'If for my sake many living beings are killed; I shall not obtain happiness in the next world.'[15] He fully believed that rebirth in the next world was possible. Then

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12. *I.A.*, IX., p. 163.
13. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, XXII, 7.
    "*Aha sā rāyavarakannā susīlā cārupehaṇī* |
    savvalakkhaṇasaṃpannā vijjusoyāmaṇippabhā" ||
14. Mathurā was the house of the Vriṣṇis and Andhakas according to the *Brahmapurāṇa*, (Chap. 14, Śl. 54). But they left Mathurā being afraid of the demons and established their capital at Dvārāvatī (*Harivaṃśa*, Ch. 37).
15. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyana sūtra* XXII. 14, 16, 17 and 19—

"*Aha so tattha nijjanto dissa pāṇe bhayaddue* |
vāḍehiṃ paṃjarehiṃ ca sanniruddhe sudukkhie ||
(22.14)

Kassa aṭṭhā ime pāṇā ee sabbe suhesiṇo |
vāḍehiṃ paṃjarehiṃ ca sanniruddhā ya acchahiṃ ||
(22.16)

Aha sārahī tao bhaṇai ee bhaddā u pāṇiṇo |
tujjhaṃ vivāhakajjaṃmi bhoyāveuṃ bahuṃ janaṃ ||
(22.17)

Jai majjha kāraṇā ee hammanti subahū jiyā |
na me eyaṃ tu nissesaṃ paraloge bhavissaī ||"
(22.19)

the sage presented the charioteer with all his ornaments. He then made up his mind to renounce household life. He then left Dvārakā and proceeded to the garden called Sahasambavana on the mount Raivataka (Revaya), where he practised asceticism and attained salvation.[16] His renunciation took place while the moon was in conjunction with *citrā*. Then he plucked his curled hair in five handfuls. He desired to have an increase in knowledge, faith, and right conduct,[17] forbearance, and perfection. Those who followed him, paid him homage and came back to the town of Dvārakā.

Before Neminātha acquired *muktijñāṇa* (knowledge of salvation) he became greatly indifferent to worldly affairs and became a sage. He established friendliness with all his relatives and gradually became a cosmopolitan. He used to partake of simple dishes, lie on the ground, put on one garment and suffer heat in summer and cold in winter. He did not feel pleasure or pain. He was the well-wisher of all. Whatever he said was proved to be true. To lead a sacred life he used to roam about from place to place. The object of his acquiring *muktijñāṇa* (knowledge of salvation) was to attain truth and a thorough grasp of all worldly affairs.[18]

As soon as Rājimatī heard of the ordination of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi, she was overwhelmed with affliction. Her maids requested her not to be sorry for such a prosaic husband and assured her that a worthy husband would be brought for her in no time. Rājimatī, however, entreated them not to utter such inauspicious words, and told them that Neminātha was her husband and that she would not accept any other person as her husband. She thought thus, 'Shame upon my life that I have been forsaken by him; it is better that I should turn nun.'[19] Firmly decided she cut off her tresses and entered the Order. She induced many people, her relations, and servants to enter the Order.

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[16] J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 373. Raivata or Raivataka is the Mount Girnār in Saurāṣṭra or the Modern Kathiawar in the Bombay Presidency.

[17] *Jñāṇa, darśana* and *cāritra* are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism. Knowledge is characterised as right knowledge, faith as right faith, and virtue as right conduct. These three constitute the path to beatitude, liberation, *nirvāṇa*. Law, *Mahāvira, His Life and Teachings*, p. 85.

[18] Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. II, p. 240.

On her way to the Mount Raivataka it began to rain; her clothes being wet, she entered a cave and waited there in darkness, while it was raining. She took off her clothes and was naked. Rathanemi, Neminātha's elder brother, who was already in the cave, and who was not seen by her, saw her in that state and his mind became greatly disturbed. Rājimatī was frightened when she discovered herself alone with Rathanemi, who made an indecent proposal to her, which she rejected forthwith with the remark, 'If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without hold. I am the daughter of a Bhoja King and you are an Andhakavriṣṇi; being born in a noble family, firmly practise self-control. Fie upon you, famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life; it would be better for you to die.'[20] Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady, Rathanemi returned to the Law. Protected in thoughts, words, and acts, subduing his senses and keeping the vows he practised true monkhood throughout his life. Both Rājimatī and Rathanemi became *Kevalins* (omniscient, all seeing and all knowing), after practising severe austerities, and they reached the highest perfection after having completely annihilated their *Karma*.[21]

Every Tīrthaṅkara had a discriminative symbol or cognisance (*Lāñchana*). Neminātha's sign and colour were conch shell and black (*Śyāma*).[22] He belonged to the Harivaṃśa. He is stated to have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.[23] Gomedha and Ambikā were his attendant spirits.[24] According to the *Kalpasūtra* (sūtra 182) which is stated to have been written by Bhadrabāhu (perhaps somewhat before 300 B.C.),[25] he attained the age of 1,000 years.

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[19] Charpentier. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXII, 29:
Rāimaī vicintaī dhiratthu mama jīviyaṃ |
jā haṃ teṇa pariccattā seyaṃpavvaiuṃ mama || (22.29).

[20] Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* XXII, 44, 43 and 42:
"*Jai taṃ kāhisi bhāvaṃ jā jā dacchasi nārio* |
vāyāiddho vva haḍho aṭṭhiappā bhavissasi || (22.44)
Aham ca bhogarāyassa taṃ ca si andhagavaṇhīno |
Mā kule gandhaṇā homo saṃjamaṃ nihuo cara || (22.43).
Dhiratthu te jasokāmī jo taṃ jīviyakāraṇā |
vantaṃ icchasi āvāuṃ seyaṃ te maraṇam bhave ||" (22.42).
Cf. *Jaina sūtras* (SBE) Pt. II, p. 116 f.n. 2; *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, II, 7-10.

[21] Vide *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXII, 47-48; Cf. *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 1910, pp. 397 ff.

[22] G. Buhler, *The Indian sect of the Jainas*, Ed. Burgess, 66.

Neminātha is connected with the legend of Śrīkriṣṇa as his relative. Really speaking he is connected with the Kriṣṇa myths through Rājimatī, the daughter of Ugrasena, who was selected as his bride.[26] According to the *Triṣaṣṭisalākāpuruṣacarita* (parvan VIII and Ch. IV) he was a cousin of Lord Kriṣṇa. He was never a mythical person. The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (p. 488) establishes the historicity of Neminātha. He is referred to as a Jina in the *Prabhāsapurāṇa*, who obtained salvation on the Mount Raivataka.[27] During his life-time the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas flourished.

After acquiring the knowledge of salvation Neminātha was greatly delighted to think that he was able to teach the people thus: (1) be friendly with all, (2) always speak true and sweet words, (3) never take anything without the knowledge of the owner, (4) observe precepts, (5) always rest satisfied, (6) develop kindliness, (7) religion should be dearer than life itself, (8) life should be sacrificed for the sake of religion, if necessity arises, etc. The instructions imparted by Neminātha were carried out by many people, even by Śrīkriṣṇa himself. Many men and women began to lead a saintly life and many people led pure life even being householders. Rājimatī too led a pure life of indifference towards worldly things. She followed Neminātha out and out, and finally obtained salvation.

Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, who was the saviour of the world and the lord of the ascetics, went right through the town of Dvāravatī to the park called Revatika and stopped under the Aśoka tree. Thereafter fasting two days and a half he put on a divine robe and in the company of 1,000 persons, he tore out the hair and entered the state of homelessness. The Digambaras disagree here with the Śvetāmbaras as they believe that Ariṣṭanemi became a naked saint like all other Tīrthaṅkaras. He did not care for his body for 54 days. On the 55th day he acquired the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala* after fasting for 3 days and a half without drinking water under a *Veṭasa* tree (cane tree).[28] According to the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* (p. 32) he was not only initiated at Mithilā but also he attained supreme knowledge. On the summit of the Mount Girnār Neminātha instituted two epochs in his capacity of a maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations, and the epoch relating to the psychical condition, the former ended in the eighth generation and the latter in the twelfth year of his Kevalaship according to the *Kalpasūtra* (181).[29] He lived three centuries as a prince, 54 days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seven centuries as a *Kevalin*,[30] full seven centuries as a *śramaṇa* and some thousand years on the whole.[31]

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[23] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 466.

[24] Stevenson, *Heart of Janism*, pp. 57–58; 313.

[25] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 154.

[26] *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 1880, p. 163.

[27] H. R. Kapadia, *The Jaina religion and literature*, Vol. I, p. 13.

According to the *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo* (*Aṅtakrita-daśāṅga*) prince Gotama renounced the world and placed himself as a Jaina recluse under the guidance of Neminātha, when the latter visited Dvāravatī attended by the four grades of gods. When Neminātha came to the city of Bāravāi, he was well received by the Mallakis with the Ugras, Bhojas, Kṣatriyas and Licchavis.[32] It was at the garden of Śrīvana that Anita happened to meet Ariṣṭanemi. The great teacher Ariṣṭanemi asked Kriṣṇa Vāsudeva not to bear wrath against the Brahmin Saumila, who even by spiteful action lent indirectly an aid to his younger brother Gaja.

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[28] H. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, 174.

[29] *Kalpasūtra*, 181.
"*Araho naṃ Ariṭṭhanemissa duvihā aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi hotthā, taṃ jahā jug'-aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi ya pariyāy-aṃtakaḍa-bhūmī ya; jāva aṭṭhamāo purisa-jugāo jug'-aṃtakaḍa-bhūmī, duvālasa-pariyāe aṃtam akāsī.*"

[30] *Kevalin* is one who has acquired *Kevala-jñāṇa* which is defined in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (II. 15.25) as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects, to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons: whence they come, where they go, where they are born etc.

[31] *Kalpasūtra*, p. 182. .... "*arahā Ariṭṭhanemi ṭinni vasa-sayāiṃ Kumāra-vāsa-majjhe vasittā caupannam raiṃdiyāiṃ chaumattha-pariyāyaṃ pāuṇittā, des'-ūnaiṃ sattā vāsa-sayāiṃ kevali-pariyāyam pāuṇittā, paḍipunnāiṃ satta vāsa-sayāiṃ sāṁanna-pariyāyaṃ pāuṇittā, egaṃ vāsa-sahassaṃ savv'-āuyaṃ pālaittā, ...*"

[32] Barnett, *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo*, p. 36.

The Queen Padmāvatī became interested like her mother-in-law, Devakī, in the worship of Ariṣṭanemi (Pali Ariṭṭhanemi), when the great teacher came to Dvāravatī and preached his noble doctrine before her husband Kriṣṇa Vasudeva. Kriṣṇa was anxious to know from him the factors which would lead to the destruction of the delightful and prosperous city of Dvāravatī. The saint mentioned wind, fire, and Dvaipāyana as the three destroying factors. The great teacher clearly perceived the trend of the sad thought which arose in the mind of Kriṣṇa. Thereafter Kriṣṇa became curious to know how his own death would come about and where he would be reborn. Ariṣṭanemi's reply was that after the destruction of the city of Dvāravatī by the wrath of Dvaipāyana, the action of fire, and drunkenness of Vāsudevas (Yādavas), Kriṣṇa would be sent forth with Balarāma (Rāma Baladeva) to Pāṇḍu-Mathurā on the south where he would meet the sons of king Pāṇḍu, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, and there in the presence of the Pāṇḍava brothers, in the Kuśāmba forest, and under an excellent banyan tree, he would remain on a slab of stone with his body covered with a yellow robe, when he would be pierced in his left foot by a sharp arrow, released from the bow by Jarākumāra. Thus he would come to death and would be reborn in hell. Thereafter he would be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the country of Bhāratavarṣa, in the land of Puṇḍra, in the city of Śatadvāra, where he would be the twelfth Jina in the next era of progress, finding himself many years in the status of a *Kevalin*. This prophecy is said to have satisfied Kriṣṇa.

In view of the impending calamity of the city of Dvāravatī Kṛṣṇa asked all persons to renounce the world and lead the mendicant life in the religious order of Ariṣṭanemi. Under this persuasion his queens, headed by Padmāvatī and the two wives of Prince Śāmba became nuns, studied the eleven *Aṅgas*, observed religious practices, and then passed away obtaining the final liberation. Here we have a very curious Jaina version of the Kriṣṇa legend, having a few points of similarity with the Brahmanical and Buddhistic versions. The obvious purpose of the Jaina narratives was to gain popularity for the Jaina faith in Western India by making the local people believe that the whole of the Yādava race attained salvation under the influence and guidance of the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi. The Jaina inventor of the legends would purposely ignore the fact that Kriṣṇa Vāsudeva's teacher was Ghora Āṅgirasa. According to the Upaniṣad tradition Kriṣṇa following the instruction of Ghora Āṅgirasa, became free from all worldly attachments. According to the Jaina legend he could aspire to become a Jina. These were the current legends accounting for the destruction of the Andhaka-Vriṣṇis.[33]

Jainism teaches that a special reward is attached to *pāṇapuṇya* or giving water to the thirty. There is no harm in giving unboiled water to a layman, but boiled water must be given to an ascetic. The story of Nemināṭha shows how great the reward is. A king named Saṅkara and his wife Yaśomatī once showed kindness to some thirsty monks by giving them water in which grapes had been soaked. In their next birth as a reward, the king was born as Nemināṭha and his wife as the daughter of a famous king of Surat; in this incarnation though betrothed they did not marry, but they became ascetics on the day fixed for their wedding and eventually attained liberation. According to the Jainas merit is won by speaking without hurting anybody's feeling. Kriṣṇa as king of Dvārakā once heard Nemināṭha preach. He felt that he himself could not face the hardships of a monastic life. He urged his subjects to receive initiation and promised to look after their families. Some of the people became monks and this brought Kriṣṇa so much *vacanapuṇya* that he was bound to become a *Tīrthaṅkara.*[34]

Nemināṭha had 18 *Gaṇas* and 18 *Gaṇadharas* (Pali *Gaṇācariyas*). The Digambara texts mention 11 *Gaṇas* and 11 *Gaṇadharas* with Varadatta at their head. He had an excellent community of 18,000 Śramaṇas with Varadatta at their head; 40,000 nuns with Ārya Yakṣiṇī at their head; 1,69,000 lay votaries with Nanda at their head and 3,36,000 female lay votaries with Mahāsuvrata at their head. The Digambaras name one lakh and three lakhs male and female lay votaries respectively. Moreover Nemināṭha had 400 sages who were possessed of the *Avadhi*[35] knowledge; 15,000 Kevalins; 15,000 sages who could transform themselves; 1,000 sages of vast intellect; 800 professors; 1,600 sages in their last birth and 1,500 male and 3,000 female disciples who had reached perfection.[36]

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[33] Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 47-52; Barnett, *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo*; M. C. Modi, *Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo.*

[34] Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 110, 112.

[35] It is the same as Buddhist *Anantañāṇa* (*Auguttara*, IV, 428—*antavantena ñāṇena antavantam lokaṃ jānaṃ passaṃ*).

[36] *Kalpasūtra, Jaina sūtras* (SBE), Pt. I, pp. 175-180.

The twelfth *Upāṅga* deals with the conversion of twelve princes of the Vriṣṇi dynasty by the sage Ariṣṭanemi.

When the fourfold *karma* of Neminātha was exhausted and in the *Avasarpiṇī* era a great part of the *Duḥsamā-suṣamā* period had elapsed, in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *citrā,* he after fasting for a month, without taking water, in the company of 536 monks, liberated himself in a squatting position on the summit of the Mount Girnār, freed from all pains.[37]

The gigantic temple of Neminātha has been built at Satruñjaya, the most sacred of the five hills of the Jainas in Kathiawar. Ancient Girinagara or Girnār identified with modern Junāgaḍh is sanctified by Śrī Nemi. At the sight of the peak called Avalokana sanctified by the lotus-like feet of Śrī Nemi one's desires are satiated. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (pp. 9-10) the anointed figure of Śrī Nemi on the summit of the Mount Girnār was replaced by a stone one, studded with gems of Kāsmīra. The emancipation stone of Nemī is known all over the world.[38] At Raivatakagiri which is also known as the Mount Girnār, Nemi was initiated near Chatraśilā. After having attained *Kevalajñāṇa* he obtained salvation on the top of the Avalokana. Having come to know of the salvation spot from Nemi, Krisṇa set up 'Siddha-Vināyaka' after his attainment of salvation. Here stands a high pinnacled temple of Neminātha on the summit of this mountain in Surāṣṭra on the western side. On the east there was an anointed figure of Nemi. A new temple of Neminātha in the country of Gurjara was constructed by Jayasiṃhadeva.[39] A king of Surāṣṭra named Maṇḍalika repaired the temple of Neminātha on the Mount Girnar in about 1059 A.D.[40]

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[37] H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu,* p. 182.
[38] *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* p. 8-9.
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 9-10.
[40] Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism,* p. 17.

On the Legend in the Nāgānanda

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(1) *Introduction:*

The Nāgānanda of Harṣadeva is a problem drama, in the sense that it has given rise to many problems. Here is a new problem about it and its solution offered.

(2) *Problems Enumerated:*[1]

Till now a number of problems about this drama of Harṣadeva have been discussed. (a) In the beginning, Harṣadeva, the author was confused with Śrī Harṣa but later on the two were distinguished. (b) Then a doubt arose whether Harṣa the mighty king of Kanauj (610-648 A.D.) with the thorny crown that he had to wear at the very beginning of his career, had sufficient time at all to indulge in literary pastime. He was a very vigorous monarch whose activity was exhibited in the incessant wars that he waged in Northern India. The treacherous murder of Rājjyavardhana, the calamity that overtook Rājjyaśrī and the continued enmity with Śaśāṅka and the wars with the Hūṇas and others might not have left any time for the king to write dramas. (c) Further owing to references in the works of Mammaṭa,[2] Rājaśekhara[3] and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa,[4] it was suggested that one Dhāvaka (-Bhāsa) wrote the three dramas—Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalî and Nāgānanda and probably sold them to the king. (d) Again Bāṇabhaṭṭa was suspected to have composed these dramas for his patron. But now, all these problems have ceased to worry the scholars and Harṣavardhana or Harṣadeva, the king of Kanauj is taken to be the author of the three plays mentioned above. (e) some others, with special reference to the Nāgānanda, argued that, after the calamity that befell Rājjyaśrî, the dear younger sister of the king, the latter was so convinced of the futility of mundane existence that he gradually began to drift towards Buddhism. His association with Divākaramitra[5] had a great influence in this respect. The play Nāgānanda indicates his gradual conversion to Buddhism.[6]

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[1] See the Introductions to the plays of Harṣa (R. D. Karmarkar's Ed.) and to the translation of the plays (Mrs. Bela Bose) etc.

[2] Śri Harṣāderdhāvakādînāmiva dhanam (1st Ullāsa).

[3] A so-called quotation from the Kavivimarśa of Rājaśekhara:
"*Kāraṇam tu Kavitvasya na saṁpanna Kulīnatā*
Dhāvakopi hi yad bhāsaḥ Kavīnām agrimo bhavat ||
Ādau bhāsena rachitā nāṭikā priyadarśikā |......
Tasya ratardvalî nūnam ratnamāleva rajate |......
Nāgānandam samālokya yasya Śri Harṣa Vikramaḥ ...... etc.

[4] The same story is retold by Nāgeśa in his Uddyota.

(3) *Buddhism in the Nāgānanda:*

Apparently the drama has a theme which can rightly be considered as Buddhistic. Such references as:

"Loke hāri cha Bodhisattvacharitam . . . (1. 3).
"Vidyadharajātakapratibaddham . . . (Intro).
"Bodhisattva evāyam mayā vyāpāditaḥ (V).
and also the invocation of Buddha in the two verses of Nāndî, hero's (Jîmūtavāhana's) well-known Buddhistic principles of non-violence and devotion to the good of creatures (cf. "Parārthasaṁpat buddhānām), his frequent use of Buddhistic terminology:

"Parārthaikadṛśo mama . . . (IV. 20).
"Paropakārāya śarîralābhaḥ (IV. 20).
"Yatcchāsūnapi saṅtyajet karuṇayā (II. 10).
also "Sarîre kā khalu śobhā; "na parārthasaṁpādanā manorathasyāṅtarāyaṁ kartum arhati" etc.; the reference to the so-called doctrine of Pratipakṣyā (V. 25) of Buddhism in which an antidote for previous misconduct is suggested—all these, certainly speak of a predominant Buddhistic element in the drama. But was the drama written for the element only? We want to bring it out that the real problem behind the theme of the drama was quite differ-

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[5] Harṣacharita by Bāṇa (N. S. Ed. Bombay, 1918), p. 236.

[6] In his "Record of the Buddhist Religion" I-tsing, the Chinese traveller states: "King Śhīladitya versified the story of Bodisattva Jîmūtavāhana who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga. The version was set to music. He had it performed by a band of actors accompanied by dancing and acting and then popularized it in his time." (Translation by Tatakasu), pp. 163-164.

ent from mere propagation of Buddhism. It was more realistic than ideal.

Nor can it be argued that Harṣavardhana was converted to Buddhism, for the Banskhera copper-plate[7] inscription and also the Madhubana plates[8] clearly record for Rājjyavardhana—"paramasaugataḥ sugata iva parahitaikarataḥ" and for Harṣavardhana "Paramamāheśvaraḥ maheśvara iva sarvasattvānukampî."[9] Even Jîmūtavāhana, the hero of the drama, who is called Bodhisattva is surrounded by Vedic atmosphere—his father Jîmutaketu used to perform fire-worship and was living in a hermitage as a Vānaprastha, the love-scenes of the hero and the heroine (Malayavatî) are placed in the Gaurî-āsrama; the Brahman friend of the hero, the Vidūṣaka makes frequent references to the Agnihotra rites and to the ancient sages, the fire-worship due to guests, the boon of the Goddess Gaurî given to the heroine in a dream, the praise of the gods like Hari, Hara, Brahmā, Baladeva etc. Again Gaurî is made the presiding deity of the Vidhyadharas; the Goddess brings back to life the hero in the end by sprinkling nectar, and, lastly, the verse—

> "Vāsorthaṁ dayayaîva nātipṛthavaḥ kṛttāḥ tarūṇāṁ tvachaḥ
> Magnālakṣyajaratkamaṇḍalurajaḥsvacchaṁ payo nairjharaṁ
> Dṛśyante truṭiojhitāḥ cha baṭubhirmauñjyaḥ kvachinmekhalā
> Nityākarṇanyā śukena cha padaṁ sāmnamidam gîyate. (I. 10).

These are so many points which show that neither Jîmūtavāhana nor Harṣavardhana was a Buddhist. And as a matter of fact, except the word Bodhisattva that is applied to the hero, nothing can be considered as specifically favouring Buddhism in the drama. The praise of the Buddha in the Nāndî verses and the Buddhistic phrases appearing here and there can be interpreted as due to king's tolerance to all religions and his acquaintance with the Buddhist scriptures. The idea of self-sacrifice which is the main theme of the drama, is equally to be found in the Vedic religion and in the Buddhist as well. Hence the drama Nāgānanda cannot be considered as specially written for the propagation of Buddhism.[11]

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[7] Epi. Ind. IV. 210-211.

[8] Epi. Ind. VII. 158.

[9] Also see R. D. Banerji "Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India", p. 202. For the social background in the Nāgānanda see N. Aiyaswami Shastri in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, XXXI, p. 233 ff.

(4) *Sources of the Legend:*

Scholars have come to the conclusion that "No Jātaka story of the name Vidyādhara Jātaka has yet been discovered."[12] Hence the story of Jîmūtavāhana is traced as far back as the Kathāsaritsāgara[13] and Bṛhatkathāmañjari,[14] the two extant versions of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, abridged by Somadeva and Kṣemendra respectively. There are a few differences in the tale told by these two authorities yet, the facts:

(a) Jîmūtavāhana's original kingdom was in the Himālayas.

(b) His residence during the exile was in the south on the Malaya mountain.

(c) He saved the Nāga Śaṅkhachūḍa;

(d) and this incident took place near Gokarṇa on the western sea-coast are kept up faithfully by them both and also by Harṣa in his drama. This means that the legend of Nāgānanda goes back, at least, to the first century A.C. which is taken to be the age of Guṇāḍhya. But till now, nobody has brought to our notice the fact that this legend presupposes the Suparṇādhyāya,[15] apparently a late production of the post-Vedic age. Its text consists of thirty Vargas or fifteen parts in Triṣṭubh metre. It relates—how (i) Vālakhilyas were laughed at by Indra, (ii) how the irate sages in exchange for their own merit of penance got Aruṇa and Garuḍa created; (iii) how a quarrel broke out between Kadru and Vinatā; (iv) how Vinatā lost the wager and how Garuḍa tried to release his mother from bondage by a flight towards the sun and by attempting to win nectar[16] and (v) how he became successful and finally got the boon from Indra:

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11. Krisnammachariar, History of Classical Literature", p. 589.
12. Mrs. Bela Bose. Intro. to the trans. of Harṣa's Plays, p. 11
13. KSS. XII. 23, etc.
14. BKM. IV. 50-108; IX. 2. 776-930.
15. Suparṇādhyāya—transcript of the Benares MS. got through Shri K. N. Dave of Nagpur, and also Weber. Ind. Stu. XIV (1876).
16. Reference to the conquest of Amṛta in the Nāgānanda—V. 30.

Garuḍa—"Nāgān vṛṇe bhakṣyamahaṁ śachîpate
Vaheyaṁ yajñyaṁ praviśeyam vedān; |
Adhîyîran mā brāhmanāḥ svargakāmāḥ
Te chāpnuyuḥ tridive saṁsadaṁ nau." ||

Indra —"Nāgāste bhakṣyaḥ santu vihaṁgamendra
Vaha yajñyaṁ praviśa śūra vedān; |
Aḍhyeṣyante tvā brāhmaṇāḥ svargārthāḥ
Prāpsyanti cha tirdive saṁsadaṁ nau." ||

It is this boon of Indra to Garuḍa that gave occasion for the legend in the Nāgānanda. Now the question arises why this particular myth was converted into a drama by the king Harśavardhana, who, as noted before was a very zealous monarch. If, as argued, the drama was not written for the propagation of Buddhism, then was he specially interested in the Nāga-Garuḍa conflict?

(5) *An Allegory:*

The curtain that is thrown over the myth of Nāgānanda was a little shaken by A. Banerji Shastri[17] when he found that only one passage in the drama described the Nāga, as the sculptures represented him, i.e. with the Swastika mark. Otherwise there is not a single indication in the whole drama (except of course the last act) if Śānkhachūḍa a snake was being offered as a victim to the eagle —Garuḍa. Śāṅkhachūḍa appears plainly a mortal. Jîmūtavāhana, certainly looked upon him as a human being and his mother as simply an old woman, for neither of them had any distinguishing mark. Even Garuḍa, who from eating a Nāga every day for his luncheon, ought to have been tolerably familar with the Nāga-characteristics, did not find any difference between him and Jîmūtavāhana whom he lifted away by mistake. Śaṅkhachūda exclaims at this blunder of Garuḍa:

"Āstām swastika lakṣma vakṣasi tanau nālokyate kaṅchuko
Jihve jalpata eva me an gaṇite nāma tvayā dve api; |
Tirraḥstîvraviṣāgniḍhūmapaṭalavyājimharatnatviṣo
Naitā dussahaśokasîtkṛtamarutpîḍāḥ phaṇāḥ paśyasi. ||
(V. 18)

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[17] "The Nāgas" in ABORI. XVIII. p. 350 ff.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 350,

About these characteristics of the Nāgas, A. Banerji Shastri states: "This may be a correct description of the ideal Nāga under Group I (Vedic) and II (Epic). For the historical period under group III (Purāṇa) and IV (Post-Purāṇa) when the book (Nāgānanda) was written, the curious part of the business is that, till he proclaimed it nobody saw it." Harṣadeva, the dramatist knew well, perhaps, that he was taking advantage of the ancient legend of the Nāga-Garuḍa conflict to cover a contemporary account. And that is the reason why he described Śaṇkhachūḍa more as a human being than a serpent. The Nāga Śaṅkhachūḍa is made to represent some one else, as Garuḍa, the bird deity of that name was used as a symbol by the most mighty dynasty of ancient India.

(6) *The Nāgas:*

The Nāgas were powerful kings of prehistoric and historical periods of India. The Vedic literature, the Epics, the Buddhistic and the Jain annals, the Nîlamata Purāṇa show a very wide distribution of the Nāgas. The burning of the Nāgas in the Khāṇḍava forest, the Sarpa-sattra of Janamejaya, the seals found at Mohenjo Daro indicating Nāga-worship;[19] the standing serpents at Kosambi, at Buxar, on the topes of Sāñchî, Amarāvatî—all show evidence of existence of Nāga power in the pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic periods. Of the historical Kali age, the Purāṇas mention Śisunāgas (B.C. 733-444) and the Vaideśika Nāgas (3rd cent. B.C.). Hoards of punch-marked coins throw light on the origin and the story of the Nāga rule of Magadha. The Nava-Nāgas[20] rose to power after 150 A.C. at Kāntipurî, Padmavatî, Mathurā, Ahicchattra, Sṛghna and became powerful in the following centuries.[21] The influence of these Nāga republics which had covered the whole of Malwa, Gujrat (Ābhīra), the Rajaputana (Yaudheyas and Mālavas) and a part of the Eastern Punjab (Madra)[22] had penetrated even to the far south.[23] Bhāraśivas were Nandi-Nāgas (210-315 A.C.). Most important of the Bhāraśivas was Bhavanāga whose exploits were eulogised by the inscribed records.[24] The Nāgas of the 2-3rd centuries had closer ties with the Vākāṭakas both according to the Purāṇa texts and the inscriptions. Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka was the grandson of Bhavanāga Bhāraśiva.[25]

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[19] Marshall, Mohenjo Daro. I.68; II.395.

[20] Viṣṇupurāṇa—IV. 24. 18—"Nava nāgāḥ Padmāvatyaṁ Kāntipuryām anugāṅgaṁ Prayāgaṁ Māgadhā suhmāścha bhokṣyanti | "

[21] Purāṇa Text, p. 53—"Nāgā bhokṣyanti sapta vai".

[22] Jayaswal—Imperial History of India, pp. 53-54.

[23] The Kanheri records cumulatively prove this. ASWI. V. p. 86; JBBRAS. V. 152-153.

(7) *The Garuḍa* :

The Garuḍa was the emblem of the mighty Gupta emperors. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta records—

"Garutmadaṅkasvaviṣayabhuktiśasana ……." —(line 24)[26]

Garuḍa appears on the coins of the Gupta kings (and particularly on the coins of Chandragupta II).[27]

(i) Garuḍa as standing, facing with outspread wings;

(ii) Garuḍa on the altar;

(iii) Garuḍa with human arms;

(iv) Garuḍa holding a snake.

This series of Chandragupta coins, not only shows that Garuḍa was the emblem or symbolic mark of the Guptas but also represented Gupta power, sovereignty and all. This was actually expressed in a metaphorical way in the Girnar Inscription of Skaṅdagupta.

"Narapatibhujagānām mānadarpotphaṇānām,
Pratikṛtigaruḍājñyām nirviṣîṁchāvakartā;"[28]

which most probably refers to the Nāga rebellion crushed by Skaṅdagupta.

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[24] Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions, p. 236, 245—"Aṅsabhārasanniveśita śivaliṅgodvahanaśivasuparituṣṭâsamutpāditarājaveśānam parākramādhigata bhāgîrathyāmalajalamūrdhābhiṣiktānām………

[25] Purāṇa Text, p. 219. n. 23—"Tasyānvaye bhaviṣyanti …. dauhitraḥ śiśukonāma"—For more information about the Nāgas and the Nāgaloka see Intro. to Nāyakumāracharịyu (pp. xxxi-xxxv).

[26] Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions, p. 6 ff.

[27] Allan. "Catalogue of Indian Coins", pp. 49 ff, 59, etc., plate XI.

[28] Fleet. *Ibid.*, p. 58 ff.

The epigraphic and the numismatic records alike bring home to us that the Garuḍa stood for Gupta prowess which was always at war with the Nāgas,[29] their allies and supporters. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription was raised in memory of the great massacre of these in the Āryāvarta. Accordingly Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nāgadatta, Matila, and Rudradeva were killed in the conflict. It seems that Chandragupta II took pride in his father's exploits and in commemoration of the Nāga destruction issued the "Garuḍa series of coins" and himself married a Nāga princess—Kuberanāgā.

Thus when Garuḍa and Nāga prove historically significant, the allegory in the drama Nāgānanda becomes all the more interesting.

(8) *Harṣa was Describing a Contemporary Event:*

Harṣadeva's Priyadarśikā and Rātnāvalī describe political-cum love intrigues, whose political aspect has been lost to us. The Nāgānanda also is a clever political play (cf. Śrîharṣo nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ). All the three plays were enacted before an assembly of princes who gathered from time to time in the capital—Kanauj to pay tribute to the emperor. It was thus an assembly of political critics (cf. Pariṣadapyeṣā guṇagrāhiṇî). Before such an assembly, a skilful poet like Harṣa, who was the first dominantly political personality of the age, would certainly exhibit a piece which has a deep, hidden meaning.

Harsa's great contemporary and rival was Chālukya emperor Satyāśraya Puḷakeśin II (609-642 A.C.), who was then the suzerain lord of the south. The story of Nāgānanda aims at a little sarcastic description of Puḷakeśin II and incidentally describes a political event that took place in the south. Harṣa became interested in south Indian politics since his own designs in that direction were thwarted at the hands of Puḷakeśin (in 620 A.C.).[30] Harṣa seems to have described him as Jîmūtavāhana (a mild form of revenge indeed!)—a hero in exile who was unwilling to secure his own kingdom back even with the help of his wife's brother and had given up his rights to the throne willingly enough with complacent attitude (cf. 1·7—a pretty sarcasm!), but who was very benevolent of which quality the enemy, Mataṅga did not fail to take full advantage. Such was Jîmūtavāhana and Pulakeśin II, as well. The Aihole Inscription states:

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[29] "With the Guptas are mentioned Nāgas and Maṇidhyānas and others as reigning contemporaneously over the country which surrounded Gupta country". Pargiter. "Dynasties of the Kali Age". Intro. p, xii.

[30] Cf. Ep. Ind. VI. 4; also "Hieun Tsang" Ind. Ant. VII, 291,

> "Tasyāgrajasya tanaye nahuṣānubhāve |
> Lakṣmyā kilābhilaśite pulakeśi nāmni"
> Sāsūyamātmani bhavaṁtamataḥ pitṛvyam'
> Jñyatvāparuddhacharitavyavasāyabuddhau." (14)

Maṅgaleśa, the uncle of Pulakeśin II (son of Kîrtivarman and a Sendrakâ princess)[31] who had occupied the throne during the latter's childhood, tried to usurp it for himself and his own son by making Pulakeśin II an exile but,

"When his elder brother's son Pulakeśin had formed the resolution to regain his kingdom with proper use of counsel and force, Maṅgaleśa, his enemy, with his army and his intention equally damaged, gave up his life and his efforts together." (15) According to Dubreuil[32] this event took place in 608 A.C. and he was formally crowned in the following year. During his exile Pulakeśin, it appears, formed friendship with some Nāga prince, most probably, Kapardî by name, of the Śilāhāra stock, who was a Nāga remnant wandering homeless, facing difficulties and harassment at the hand of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa and anyhow sheltering himself in Siṁhala (i.e. Goa). Later on when Koṅkaṇa was cleared of Maurya rule by Pulakeśin,[33] he, with his characteristic benevolence, installed the Nāga prince Kapardî on the throne of Koṅkaṇa.[34]

Thus the drama Nāgānanda has, it seems, a suggestion of the following political parallelism.

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[31] Chiplun Plates Ep. Ind. III. 51.

[32] Dubreuil. 'History of Deccan', p. 113.

[33] Aihole Ins. vs. 20; Bombay Gazetteer. pt. ii, p. 282.

[34] This is a mere suggestion, no doubt, but the Śilāhāras, it should be noted, own their existence to Jîmūtavāhana and derive their family name from their victimization on a slab of stone to Garuḍa. These facts the Śilāhāras admit publicly. The Kharepetan plates (Ind. Ant. IX. 33 ff) and other Śilāhāra records begin with the statement of these two facts. Kapardî befriended by Pulakeśin may be a remote ancestor, whose name was taken by the father of Pullaśakti.

(i) Jîmūtavāhana—Puḷakeśin II (the son),
Jîmūtaketu—Kîrtivarman I (the father),
Śaṅkhachūḍa—Kapardî of the Śilahāra stock, a Nāga,
Mataṅga—Maṅgaleśa (the enemy)

Scene of the drama is laid in Koṅkaṇa on the Western sea-coast (cf. Gokarṇamarṇavataṭe tvaritaṁ praṇamya V. 7).[34a]

(ii) The Chālukyas of Badami were orginally of the south of the Himalayas[35] as the Vidyādharas were originally from the southern slopes of the Himalayas. Both had migrated to the south of the Narmadā.

(iii) Both Jimūtavāhana and Puḷakeśin were in exile; both were good-natured; both were destined to become suzerain lords;[36] both were benevolent. Similarly as one helped the Nāga Śaṅkhachūḍa, the other could have helped a Nāga—Kapardî, the founder of the Śilāhāra line and a remnant of the royal Nāga families after the great havoc caused by the Guptas.

(iv) The Śilāhāra line begins with Kapardî. The kings of this line ruled in the north Koṅkaṇa and the south Koṅkaṇa, as well. The records of the Śilāhāras really begin with Mahārāja Sāmanta Pullaśakti (A.C. 842-43), the son of Kapardî. But it seems that after Puḷakeśin, Kapardî (I), the founder of the Śilāhāra line lost his hold over Koṅkaṇa. But later on Pullaśakti got back his kingdom through the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa. This means that Kapardî, the father of Pullaśakti was different from the founder of the line.

The princes of this line called themselves Śilāhāras for their ancestors were offered as victims on a slab of stone to Garuda. They also trace their ancestry to Jîmūtavāhana for he was the immediate cause of their rescue and rise.[37]

[34a] The same as Gokarṇa Mahābaleśvara near Karwar.

[35] According to Dubreuil the origin of the Chālukyas is obscure (p. 111). But Bilhana in the Vikramāṅkadevacharita and the Yewur and the Miraj plates (I.A. VIII. 11 b; E.I. XII. 142 ff.) state that the dynasty was originally of Ayodhyā.

[36] Cf. the description of the auspicious physical marks of a Chakravartin in the Nāgānanda I. 17.

[37] A. S. Altekar—"The Śilāhāras of Western India". Indian Culture. II. pp. 393 ff; Bom. Gaz. I. pt. ii, p. 15. n, 9; Fleet "Kanerese Dynasties" p, 536, JRAS. old series. IV. 113; The Śilāhāras were called as the "Tagarapurādhīśvara". For the location of "Tagara" refer to R. G. Bhandarkar—"Early History

(v) As said before, this new line of kings came to power in 640 A.C. or thereabout, and that can be considered as the convenient date of the composition of the drama Nāgānanda. Thus the first Śilāhāra was a feudatory of Chālukya Pulakeśin (II).[38] Unfortunately no record of Kapardin (I) is available. Still the Kharepatan plates show that the southern branch remained faithful to the Chālukyas. And Kapardin was the originator of both the branches.

(vi) Following references in the drama help to come to the suggestion in the allegory:

(a) Reference to the mountain Malaya;

(b) Jimūtavāhana's visit to the Western sea-coast (Act. IV);

(c) Description of the sea (IV.3);

(d) Reference to the heap of the Nāga bones (last act);

(e) Reference to Garuḍa as Nāgā-śatru;

(f) The Velā-Mahîdhra stands for the Sahhya-range; the dramatist has brought in the Malaya mountain to be faithful to the ancient legend. As a matter of fact all the minor changes are for this very purpose;

(g) The verse of Garuḍa:

Nāgānām rakṣitā bhāti puruṣeṣu yathā mama; |
Tathā sarpāśānâkāṅṣām vyaktamadyāpāneśyati | | (IV. 27)

(h) Reference to Gokarṇa;

(i) The promise taken by Jimūta-vāhana from Garuḍa;

(j) The westerly march of the Nāgas to the ocean.

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of the Deccan" (1927). p. 59; Fleet Imp. Gaz. II. (1908). p. 82; JRAS, (1901), p. 537; Rhys. Davids—Buddhist India, p. 31. The Jain caves at Terrapura (Modern Tera in the Osmanabad district of the Hydrabad State) also connect the Śilāhāras with Jîmūtavāhana. If Tera is the same as Tagara (Cf. H. L. Jain, Intro. to the Karakaṇḍachariu, pp. 41-45) and which is quite possible, we can safely place Kapardî in the middle of the seventh century. A.C.

[38] Later on after Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya power was checked by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Śilāhāras accepted the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This accounts for the fidelity of Pullaśakti and the following rulers of the line to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

J. 6

Dutch Reverses in Malabar 1658-1660

(The Loss of Quilon Fort as described by
Mrs. Antoinette Meilink *nee* Roelofsz).

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A. PH.D.

The situation in the town of Quilon appeared to surpass the high expectations of the Dutch. Already they thought that the fortification could be made very much smaller. But then the town could be easily defended against all attacks and would form a frontier for Ceylon like Negapatam on the East Coast. In Quilon there was a Dutch military garrison under the command of the Captain Hendrik Gluwink and protected by some ships left behind. The question now arose whether this military occupation should be continued or whether a commercial settlement alone need be established. Because of the great strategic importance of the place as well for the West Indian Coast and Ceylon as for the Bay of Madura whereby its importance for the control of the pepper trade was enhanced, Van Goens resolved to maintain the garrison remaining at Quilon although this ran counter to the wishes of the Directorate of the United East India Company, whose rule of conduct was to sustain as little as possible of the costly military defence works because of the high cost of the same. A military occupation was directed not only against the Portuguese but also against the English who had shown themselves to be willing to establish themselves here. Transactions among the native merchants with English wares and vessels were still going on when the Dutch captured the place and it appears that the English had a short time ago made proposals to the Portuguese and the native merchants for the founding of a settlement.

Situated on a prominent rocky point on the Coast, Quilon was impregnable on three sides. The walls stretching far to the landside required however a great number of soldiers to be able to offer resistance with success. It was therefore decided to demolish a portion of the walls and churches and to rebuild the fortification on a smaller scale so as to make it capable of being defended by a smaller garrison of about eighty men. As the place was provided with ammunition and a number of yachts cruised in front of the coast for protection, Quilon was, in this way, to be an almost impregnable fortress which they could at all times assist from the sea. A nearby situated river offered a good roadstead for the wintering of small ships. The neighbourhood furnished good timber. And not only the pepper but also the wild cinnamon could in future be collected without that being hindered by the Portuguese. Through the possession of Ceylon the United East India Company controlled the voyage to and from the Bay of Madura by careful management. Van Goens rightly estimated the yield from Quilon at 20,000 guilders a year. Although there was every reason for not delaying the fortifications, Van Serooskercken was yet commanded to practise great economy in the fortifications.

For the trade, Quilon was placed under Ceylon. Van Serooskercken who had the supervision over the commercial settlement at Kayamkulam as also over the newly won fortress was required to try to make the Malabar princes, the signati and the Rajas of Travancore, Kayamkulam and Purakkad to decide favourably for the Company and especially conclude favourable pepper contracts, now that the Governor-General and Council recommended so much the purchase of pepper. Meanwhile Cochin ought to be occupied with a few ships from the fleet blockading Goa so that from there the Portuguese could venture no attack on Quilon and the English friends must be hindered from giving the necessary support.

Thus by his negotiations over the pepper Van Serooskercken must in the long run manage to obtain this commodity by bartering goods for three-fourths and making cash payments only for one-fourth, a demand which the Company was now in a position to be able to press. The price was not to go higher than 12 Reals per Candy.

That the Company did not forget its spiritual task in the newly conquered territory appears indeed out of the sending of a "Visitor of the sick" (Catechist), who was to attempt to convert the Indian Christians as well as the heathen to Calvinism. With his attempts at conversion he must not absolutely on his own account add teaching of the forms of faith there and especially he must not disdainfully omit Catholicism whereby they would be offending the Indian Christians who were very faithful Catholics. The United East

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India Company with their ecelesiastical policy was not served by unnecessary religious disputes. In time, it was hoped that by the blessing of God through the darkness the truth would shine with sweetness, the mind of the men being a thing that would not yield to force or violence but they must be led amicably and with understanding.

It soon became clear that the entire shutting of the Coast in front of Quilon was impossible because of the scant naval strength of the Company. In particular the Company could hardly prevent the pepper being carried to the Coast of Tuticorin from the kingdom of Travancore. This could be settled properly by fighting only if the Company possessed a watch-post in the kingdom of the Raja of Martha (Karunagapalli) from which they could search the ships sailing beyond.

Also Roothaes had no ship which he could spare from his fleet. The indigenous navigators with their boats which moved quickly and could be read easily were able to retain the profit-yielding export of pepper and import of opium.

The negotiations with the Malabar princes did not, as was very much desired by the Dutch, go on without a hitch. The Dutch were perfectly aware that all the contracts gave nothing that could be pressed without armed force. If the princes, notwithstanding the contracts with the Dutch, could carry on more profitable trade with other merchants, they would certainly not forgo that. Only with the Raja of Martha did Van Serooskercken attain some result like the contract which the Company had concluded with Quilon.

Alarming news began to reach Quilon from Cochin. The Portuguese who had regained their courage after the precipitate departure of the Dutch fleet resolved to exert their utmost powers to defend the last bulwark of their might on the West Coast of India Proper; indeed 14 frigates under the command of Ignatio Sermento, with 325 soldiers (which rumour had made a thousand) were to go to Cochin from Goa with a large stock of ammunition. This would be very dangerous for the isolated Dutch post at Quilon surrounded on all sides by enemies. If moreover the rainy season began, Roothaes' fleet must break up from the front of Goa as also from the sea and no more help was to be expected while the Portuguese could attack Quilon from Cochin across the land by a short cut. The Portuguese staked everything in the work of instigating the Malabaris against the Dutch. Right under the eyes of the Dutch garrison the Portuguese half-breeds were conspiring with the natives who acquainted themselves of the situation of the Dutch fortifications. The Portuguese Catholic priests still remained in the land and could count on the loyalty of the Indian Christians.

The precipitate departure of Van Goens had made a very bad impression on the Indian population and had convinced them of the weakness of the Dutch power. The Dutch garrison at Quilon was firmly convinced that after the departure of Roothaes they would be attacked by the Portuguese while the population would not then choose the side of the Dutch. Precipitately a provisional smaller fortification was built not too big for the Dutch garrison to defend it. The Dutch sent urgent requests for support and reinforcements to Van Goens.

The disposition of the Indian population who had not forgotten their defeat was continually getting worse. They refused materials and labour forces for the fortification works which therefore made very little progress. They no more gave consent to the cutting down of the cocoanut trees which yielded them a means of subsistence nor to the demolition of the houses near the town walls which obstructed the view. As the Dutch here had been moved up, the grumbling became worse. The natives continued to keep up obstinate anger against the Dutch without however their daring to make it appear openly. The proceedings of Captain Gluwinck characterised by very little tact were not calculated to improve these relations. The Captain and the subordinates of the Company did not know the customs and manners of the land. The man who because of his fifteen year long experience could soothe their minds, Van Serooskercken, was absent for negotiating with the princes of the surrounding lands the pepper contracts desired by the Company. Declarations of friendship had meanwhile come in from the Rajas of Tekkenkur and Vadakkumkur who were both at war with the Raja of Cochin, while the Raja of Cranganore who was in conflict with the Portuguese made offers of help to put into the hands of the Dutch the Portuguese forts of Cranganore and Palliport.

Yet, before Van Goens could come from Ceylon to help Quilon, a help which would not be given by him without aversion as he judged the communications exaggerated and needlessly alarming, there was enacted at Quilon itself the sad event which was the occasion of the loss of the Company's first fortress on the Indian Coast.

It was very well known to the Dutch at Quilon that there existed dangerous connections between the Indian population and the Portuguese in Cochin. It was also known that the help of some Nairs was requested for taking armed action against the Dutch in that town (Quilon) where the Portuguese could not safely go inside. Nevertheless, Captain Gluwinck had the great impudence, after hearing the sermon on Sunday the 30th March, to go for a walk outside the town with the entire *personnel* of the Company and their wives accompanied only by ten soldiers. The Rev. Fereira,* the Portuguese priest who had gone over to Calivinism and who was to render good services to the Company in the conversion of the Indian population, was staying in the town.

After the Company had walked to the end of a road, they noticed that the Nairs ran in a crowd. They thought this was owing to the fear of the Dutch. Unruffled they went close to one another along the armed bands. They got the married women return to the town along another way. Suddenly, then followed the treacherous surprise attack. With swords, pikes and shooting guns, the Dutch were harassed from all sides and their way was cut off. Against the Nairs who indeed numbered three hundred, this small group of Dutchmen of whom most were unarmed could begin nothing. There were but a few who by flight escaped an ignominous death. One of these fortunate people who managed to reach the town by a circuitous way was the book-keeper, Francois de Haze. He has left behind for us a vivid account of these events. Hendrijk Gluwinck had to pay for his impudence with his life.

*In addition to the already named Comforter of the Sick, Rev. Fereira was appointed minister. This Joan Fereira d'Almeida, originally a Roman priest, was born in Lisbon. He went over to Protestantism and was appointed by the Company first as Comforter of the Sick and in 1656 as Minister. He preached in French and Portuguese. Galle in Ceylon was indicated to him as his post of duty. He was there from 1656 to 1658. Afterwards he was at Tuticorin. In 1663 he was called to Batavia with the Portuguese Congregation. He translated the Old and New Testaments into the Portuguese language.

Besides him seven other Dutchmen also did not return. De Haze and a Comforter of the Sick who had received only a stab—thus showing the advantage of wide breeches—and some soldiers were the only unhurt in this dangerous adventure. Immediately, De Haze took measures for defence. Soldiers and sailors were distributed over the reduced fortifications. News was sent to Van Serooskercken. Threatening Nairs surrounding the place and Toepasses who were in a state of resistance were brought to the town but hardly were they restrained by the Company's artillery. Van Serooskercken immediately turned back to Quilon. Also the small yacht that was cruising along the Malabar Coast appeared in front of Quilon harbour. The Queen Signati who was seriously suspected by Van Serooskercken not to have been ignorant of the attack gave the Dutchmen the advice to leave Quilon as speedily as possible because she feared that the town would be taken by the Portuguese and Nairs with violence. The answer of Van Serooskercken was short but forceful and, weaned of all diplomatic courtliness, a remarkable sample of the language which the servants of the Dutch Company dared to use against Indian princes but which then rightly aroused the sharp censure of Van Serooskercken's superiors. Hoping that the Signati and her friends must yet, as dogs with the tail between the legs flee from the land. Van Serooskercken proposed to stand firm, and not budge an inch. To keep this word was, however, another matter.

To Van der Muyden on the Madura Coast a reinforcement was sent for help. If no help was offered from the sea-side, they feared in particular an attack during the rainy season by the Portuguese of Cochin who during that season could easily come inland *via* canals and lagoons to Quilon with small ships. The opinion of Van der Muyden was shared by Van Serooskercken and other servants of the Company. They decided to break up and abandon the town. In the dark night of the 14th April, under a violent wind and thunderstorm, the Dutch garrison managed without great misfortunes safely to get to the Dutch ships. They heaved the anchor and sailed for Kayamkulam where the Company's interests made a landing on the coast necessary. Further, at night Van Serooskercken went to the Raja for an audience. The king asserted his friendship towards the United East India Company, but counselled the Dutch to remove the Company's goods from the lodge. He would first await what the attitude towards the Dutch would be of the other Malabar princes whose enmity he feared. As the Dutch could not absolutely trust the Malbarees after the most recent occurrences, they resolved to bring to the ships the goods stored in the ware-house. After a further tranquillising assurance of the Raja that he would protect the Company's residents and merchandise, they did not go to the extent of total abolition of the oldest settlement of the United East India Company on the Coast. It was a bad sign for the Company that the monarch of Kayamkulam hesitated for a moment about protecting the Dutch any further against the Portuguese and the Nairs. The Dutch received the impression that this originated not so much out of impotence as of the wish to get rid of the Dutch from his land. The Indian princes began to realise that the Dutch like the Portuguese aimed at the monopoly of the pepper and the domination of the Coast. Moreover, they would obtain only a change of masters and no large profits. The trade was profitable only as various foreign nations competed against each other on the Coast. Nevertheless, in spite of the weakened position of the Company on the Coast, offers of an alliance against the Portuguese were received from the Rajas of Cranganore, Tekkenkur and Vadakkumkur and the Paliatteer.

It was no agreeable duty that Van der Muyden had to perform in acquainting Van Goens, as it was his duty to do, of the occurrence. Van Goens would but with difficulty believe the alarming tidings which had already reached him from Quilon before the murder of Gluwinck and that he mainly attributed to the "fear and faint-heartedness" of Van Serooskercken with whom he was already angry for other reasons. He was no easy superior and could only endure subordinates of his who wholly agreed with his policy and who would not nerve themselves to give him good counsel. In his communications on the Coast, Van Serooskercken had not confined himself to the pepper trade and the fortifications to which he was appointed and received from Van Goens a formidable trouncing about his "folly and puffy ideas."

Van Goens' indignation, as the news of the occurrences at Quilon reached him, was great. But what else was to be expected, he asked, if men were served up with negligent drunkards and disobedient door-keepers. Gluwinck's many visits to the tavern were widely known and where the man had purchased his death through his carelessness there remained for the Company nothing else but his inheritance which was distrained. As he was unmarried and had no nearest heirs, no innocent victims suffered. It was the old complaint of the Company, the difficulty to find suitable and experienced persons for the responsible posts—a complaint that occurs frequently in its nakedness.

Adriaan Van der Meyden also had to resist the anger of Van Goens. The loss of Quilon, if it was not the occasion of the serious quarrel that later broke out between both men, however laid the foundation of their alienation. Van Goens had most strongly enjoined on his subordinate the retention of Quilon. That now just one of the high servants of the Company as the Governor of Ceylon abandoned to the enemy such a small fortress as Quilon was most strongly disapproved by Van Goens. What a bad impression must this make on the Malabar princes? Through the loss of Quilon, Ceylon henceforward lost an excellent defence. If the fortress had been strongly fortified, it would have always stuck in the feet of the enemy as a very bad thorn and what an advantage would the possession of Quilon have meant against the Portuguese Roman priests who would again try to nestle in the land as summer gnats and would neglect nothing to make the Dutch hated by the Indian population! Meanwhile, through the loss of Quilon, the pepper trade which had been carried on for so many years was endangered just at the time when most of the Malabar princes showed an inclination to negotiate about pepper.

All too rashly did Van der Meyden, according to Van Goens, stake the interest of the Company. Timely enough did he come to the place with 300 soldiers amply provided with ammunition and provisions. Van Goens' accusation against Van der Meyden was not wholly justified and also was not shared by the High Government although in Batavia, where the capture of Quilon had been celebrated with such great joy, the disappointment caused by the loss was great.

Scarcely had Van der Meyden taken mature deliberation over the matter after consultation with the remaining servants of the Company before he took his decision. The Portuguese strengthened themselves formidably on the Coast and they really received the support that was promised to them from Portugal. So they would not hesitate to attempt to recover their lost fortresses. The isolated post, Quilon, of which the new fortifications had made very little progress because of the opposition of the Indian population and the old fortification, it was very certain, would fall into Portuguese hands after the departure of Roothaes' fleet. They were not thus to think of a siege which could endure through the entire rainy season upto the coming of the new blockading fleet. Van Goens had, it is true, sent reinforcements to Quilon in the shape of the *Golden flower*, the *Red Lion*, the *Bantam* and certain smaller ships, but owing to the out-break of the rainy season these could not remain on the Coast. To justify himself somewhat in the eyes of Van Goens, Van der Meyden submitted to him a plan for the recovery of Quilon. With some ships, men were for this purpose to sail to Quilon. In the middle of the night, he hoped to land 400 soldiers in a small bay between the rocks, where no walls protected the town; in the day-time they should appear with their entire forces in front of Quilon and recover the town through an attack both from the land and sea sides. First he himself should go inland.

After the quitting of the Dutch, the Portuguese had formidably strengthened Quilon. A surprise attack of the town was not easily possible as the Dutch could not approach Quilon without being watched long beforehand. With a reverse, Ceylon would be involved in great peril, a peril the greater as continually an attack of the Raja Singa on the low-lands of this island was feared. For such an undertaking, indeed, greater military forces were necessary than the High Government had at their disposal. Therefore this proposal found no favour in the eyes of Van Goens. Although this opinion was shared by the Governor-General and Councillors, yet they did not neglect to point out to Van Goens his touchiness against his subordinates. The expressions, for example, in which Van Serooskercken was referred to in the letters of Van Goens were not to the liking of the High Government. Such odious expressions were hardly becoming of him who was so touchy and sensitive about the least word of admonition. The apologies which Van Goens offered were not from the heart. His doings and omissions were according to his inclinations which men would discourage in case of men of lesser opposition; but it happened through zeal, not in any way with bitterness.

In order that the influence of the Company on the Coast should not be wholly lost, it was necessary to blockade not only Goa, but also Quilon and Cochin with some yachts and frigates. The fear was not unjustified that with the continued siege of Goa, the Portuguese would transfer their trade with Portugal from Goa to Cochin. But for a total blockade of Cochin and the South Indian Coast, the Dutch Company lacked sufficient ships and crew. At most a few yachts and smaller vessels only were available to cruise there and hinder the navigation of the adversaries. To keep out the English for whom the Portuguese always provided contraband and attempted to obtain a share of the pepper trade, larger ships were necessary and the recapture of Quilon could take place only with forces and weapons in public. This depended principally on whether the outcome of the forthcoming blockade of Goa was good or bad.

Meanwhile they wished to resume the trade on the Coast at Kayamkulam. Because of the scarcity of pepper in the Archipelago caused by the war on the West Coast of Sumatra and the insurrection in Palembag, also the diminution in the planting of pepper as a result of the low prices which the Company paid in the last year for this product, it was necessary, that the Company's stock on the Malabar Coast should be replenished. The very sorely insulting Signati and the other Malabar princes must be made to keep the contracts once concluded. This should perhaps succeed only through the help of the cruising yachts which obstructed the trade of those princes. For these undertakings, reinforcements from the fatherland and Batavia were urgently necessary. News of the peace negotiations commenced between Portugal and the Dutch Republic which reached India at this time caused great fear. The United East India Company would perhaps send no ships and soldiers to India if it would really come to a peace. But these should be sent and the capture in the shooting risked.

These peace negotiations from the Portuguese side made little progress with the accidental falling into the hands of Van Goens of the letter of the Portuguese Queen to her Government in India wherein great support was promised for the conquest of the lost regions and from which the close co-operation of Portugal with England and France was evident. The Dutch moveover suspected Raja Singa, the conquering ruler of Ceylon, of secret intrigues with the Portuguese. It was beyond doubt that there was great jealousy against the Dutch and there were many enemies round about Ceylon all but watching where they could betray the Dutch or elsewhere make the Dutch relinquish an advantage. All this could be averted only with the help of the military.

The capture of Quilon had made it possible for the Company to prevent navigation to the Bay of Madura from the West Coast as Quilon was situated in an excellent corner where the ships must line along tightly and could even be made to pay toll. By continually making some small ships to cruise along the Coast of Madura they could cut off this trade and bring the Nayk to reason. They indeed obtained rice from the Thevar with whom the United East India Company was in alliance and to whom the Company might perhaps wish to render military support against the Nayk if this might be necessary.

The loss of Quilon risked all the advantages described above. This loss had a very bad influence on the Parayas of Tuticorin, as not only the Portuguese but also the English could now delude them in many things in the future. That was an influence which could not be otherwise than injurious to the Company.

Inscriptions of Āhom Kings

BY

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The Āhoms ruled in Assam for about six hundred years. It was in 1228 A.D. that the first Ahom king Sukāphā established his sovereignty in north-eastern-Assam with his capital at Charaideo near the modern district-town of Sibsagar and it was in 1819 that the sovereignty over Assam was snatched from the weak hands of Sukapha's thirty-eighth successor Jogesvar Singh by the Burmese who in their turn were driven out of Assam by the British in 1824 when Lower Assam was annexed to British India. Purandar Singh, a descendant of Sukāphā, continued to rule in Upper Assam till 1838 when that part of the State too was annexed to British India.

It must be remembered that during this long period of six hundred years (1228-1838) Northern India passed through many vicissitudes-dynasties rose and fell; foreign invaders attacked, plundered and left the country bleeding; the Great Moghuls were displaced and the English established their Empire. Assam under the rule of the dynasty of Āhom kings established by Sukāphā maintained its independence and integrity through all these centuries, beating back not only repeated inroads by the Muhammadan hordes sent either directly from Delhi or from the vassal state of Bengal but also resisting the more insidious, and consequently the more difficult to combat, diplomatic pressure exercised by the British Indian Government after 1757.

It was no doubt a magnificent achievement, but little is known to the people outside Assam of the activities of the Āhom kings whose valour, wisdom and administrative skill made it possible. The Āhom kings have left behind them very interesting literary and epigraphic records of their activities. Their literary records known as *Buranjies* have been mostly translated into English and are now available to the curious public. Little, however, has so far been written on the epigraphic records left by the Āhom kings. In this article it is proposed to give a brief account of these epigraphic records.

The inscriptions of the Āhom kings have been found on rocks, on walls of temples and on copper-plates. In 1879 Sir Edward Gait in his Report on the *Progress of Historical Research in Assam* listed eleven rock inscriptions, twenty temple inscriptions and forty-eight copper-plate grants left by the Āhom kings. None of these inscriptions has yet been published. Six out of the eleven rock inscriptions are in Sanskrit and five are in Assamese; of the twenty-eight temple inscriptions as many as twenty-six are in Sanskrit, one is in Assamese and one is in both Sanskrit and Assamese. Similarly the majority (forty-four out of forty-eight) of the copper-plate grants are in Sanskrit, while only two are in Āhom, one is in Assamese and one is in both Assamese and Āhom. Except for the inscriptions in Āhom the script used is Assamese even for inscriptions in Sanskrit. The dates used are uniformly in Saka era which is said to have been first adopted by the fourteenth Āhom king Suhung-mung (1497-1539).[1] The inscriptions have been found in different places of the districts of Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Kāmrup. The earliest date mentioned is Saka 1570 equivalent to A.D. 1648 which has been found in a rock inscription in Phātacil Duar (Gauhati) which records how an un-named Bar Phukan (governor of the area extending west of Kaliabar on the Brahmaputra in Nowgong district) who had vanquished a Muhammadan army was installed as Senapati (Commander-in-Chief). The latest date mentioned is Saka 1737 = A.D. 1815 which has been found in in a copper-plate grant recording how Chandrakānta Siṁha, the thirty-seventh Āhom king, who ruled from 1810 to 1818, made a *devottar* grant of twenty-four *puras*[2] of land and of an unspecified number of servants to the temple of Visvanātha in Darrang district.

The inscriptions are important and interesting for a variety of reasons. First, they show that though the Āhom conquerors had brought with them into Assam their language, script, religion and a system of chronology they were gradually Indianised and Hinduised enough to adopt the Saka era and Sanskrit for use in their documents recording public grants and donations. How this process of Hinduisation progressed can be at present traced in outline only. The eighth king Sudāngphā (1397-1407) was brought up in his infancy in a Brahmin family and on his accession to the throne he appointed his Brahmin saviour as his adviser and his sons to high offices in the State.[3] The fourteenth king Suhungmung (1497-1530) was the first Āhom king to adopt the title of Swarga-Narayana which was borne by every one of the succeeding kings. The seventeenth king Susengphā (1603-1641) was the first Āhom king to assume, in addition to his Āhom name, a Sanskritic name which was Pratāp Siṃha; and from his time it practically became the custom for every regularly crowned king of the Āhom dynasty to bear a Sanskritic name. According to the *Buranji* of Kasinath Tamuli king Susengpha (alias Pratāp Siṃha) ruled from 1611-1649.[4] The rock inscription found at Phatacil Duar bearing the date Saka 1570=A.D. 1648 is to be assigned to his reign. If this view is correct the Hinduisation of the Āhom royal family may be said to have been completed by the time of this powerful king who had to fight hard to defend his kingdom against the Muhammadan attacks sent by Emperor Shah Jahan.

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[1] Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, p. 97.
[2] 1 *pura* = 3600 square feet. *Ibid*, p. 171.

Secondly, the script of the Sanskrit inscriptions confirms the evidence of the extant manuscripts that Sanskrit was read and written in Assam not through the Devanagari script but through the indigenous script.[5]

Thirdly, the inscriptions show that the Āhom kings were very much interested in building forts as well as works of public utility like roads, tanks and embankments. Thus an inscription on the Kanai Barsi rock near North Gauhati records the construction of a fort there in 1667 by order of the twenty-first king Chakradwaja Siṃha (1663-1669); a second found in Sibsagar district records the excavation of a tank there in 1705 by order of the thirtieth king Rudra Siṃha (1696-1714); another tank was excavated near the temple of Ugratārā in Gauhati in 1728 in the reign of Rudra Siṃha's successor, Shiva Siṃha (1714-1744) who also constructed in 1732 a moat, 2,488 yards long, in mouza Sinduri

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[3] Ibid, pp. 82-83.

[4] Quoted by Gait, E.A., *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, 1897, p. 3.

[5] *The Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, Vol. XIX, Pt. III, 1952, p. 205-206.

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Ghopa in Kamrup district. The thirty-third king Rajesvar Siṃha (1751-1769) excavated in 1753 yet another tank at Silpukhri near the Navagraha temple in Gauhati. This tank as well as the one near the Ugratara temple still exist.

Fourthly, the inscription on temples left by the Āhom kings show that they were great temple builders. The earliest of the temples built by order of an Ahom king appears to have been the temple to the god Umānanda, the *Bhairava* of the goddess Kāmākhyā, in the Peacock Island, Gauhati, built in 1694 by Bar Phukan Garhganya Handikai in the reign of the twenty-ninth king Gadādhar Siṃha (1681-1696). Gadādhar was a powerful king who recovered Gauhati from the Muhammadans whom he drove beyond the Manas river, subdued the rebellious Miris and Nagas and restored the prestige of the Āhom monarchy.[6] Gadādhar's grandson Shiva Siṃha (1714-1744) built in 1718 a temple to Kāwesvara on the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, a temple to Siddhesvara in Ramsa Mauza, Kamrup in 1718, consecrated the image of Sambhu in the temple of Umānanda in Gauhati in 1719, built two temples to Janardana in Asvaklanta hill, North Gauhati, in 1720 and 1721, a temple to Chandikā in *mauja* Kharija Baranti, Kamrup, in 1725 and a temple to Ugratārā in Gauhati in the same year. King Shiva Siṃha's brother and successor king Pramatta Siṃha (1744-1751) also built nine temples of which the more important were the temples to gods Sukresvara and Janardana in Gauhati and to the goddesses Kāmākhyā in Kaliabar (Nawgong district) and Durgā in Kamrup. The next king Rajesvara Siṃha (1751-1769) also built many temples of which one was to the Navagrahas on the Chitrasila hill near Gauhati, a second in Vāsisthāsrama, south of Gauhati and two temples to Vāsudeva in the Daksinpat *sattras* in Darrang and in Nawgong districts. None of the later Āhom kings is known to have constructed any temple. Evidently the decline of the Āhom power had set in.

Fifthly, King Gadādhar Siṃha (1681-1699) who was the first Āhom king to build a temple to a Hindu god was also the first Āhom ruler to make grants of lands to Brahmins. Three copper-plate grants dated 1683, 1684 and 1685 record how he bestowed 24 *puras* of land in Darrang district and 8 *paiks*[7] and 60 *puras* of land and 4 *paiks* in Sibsagar district on a Brahmin named Govinda Chandra Chakravarty and 26 *puras* of land in Darrang district and 2 slaves on another Brahmin named Baloram Narayan. All the succeeding kings upto Chandra Kanta Siṃha (1810-1818) followed the example thus set by King Gadādhar Siṃha and made similar land grants. The largest number (nineteen) of such grants were made by King Shiva Siṃha (1714-1744). The land grants were made in *devottar* to gods and goddesses, in *Brahmottar* to Brahmins and to the Vaisnava *Sattras* and in at least one instance, in *Nankar* to a Muhammadan Fakir named Manik. These land grants, unlike the similar landgrants of the early king of Kamarupa[8] state the measurements of the lands granted in terms of *puras* and thus show that in 1683, when the first land grant was made, if not earlier, lands in Assam were surveyed and measured according to a standard measurement which must have been uniform throughout the State from Sibsagar to Kamrup. Moreover, the grants of lands were always accompanied by a grant of families of servants and sometimes of slaves. This practice continued as late as 1815 when King Chandra Kanta Siṃha (1810-1818) bestowed in *devottar* 24 puras of land and a number of servants to the temple of Visvanātha in Darrang. Clearly enough society was completely feudalised and men and women could be given away as chattels.

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[6] Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, pp. 169-170.

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[7] *Paik* means a foot soldier. He was a free man but was bound, in lieu of lands granted, to fight in times of war and to render free labour in times of peace. *Paiks* are to be distinguished from *slaves* who were either prisoners of war or purchased from the hill tribes. Servants were manumitted slaves or hill men.—Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, pp. 239-241.

[8] Bhattacharya, P.N., *Kamarupasasanafali*. The lands granted are designated either by stating either boundaries as in the Nidhānpur grant (pp. 16-17) or by stating productivity as in the Purpabhadra grant of King Dharmapala (p. 177).

Lord Elgin I and Afghanistan

BY

DR. (MISS) BRIJ SAIGAL, M.A., Ph.D.

Lord Elgin initiated a policy of non-interference in respect of the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He refused to allow the Government of India to be involved in the complicated affairs of the Afghan neighbours. As a matter of fact it was his policy which ultimately gave birth to the subsequent one of "Masterly Inactivity."

After the conclusion of the First Afghan War, the relations between the British Government and Dost Muhammad Khan[1] were "undefined but sullen."[2] They were modified under the pressure of Persian eagerness to expand eastwards and reconquer Herat and Kandahar. When the Persians attacked Herat in 1855, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and Dost Muhammad. The former agreed not to interfere with the Amir's territories, and the latter promised in return to be "the friend of friends and the enemy of the enemies of the Hon'ble East India Company."[3]

The friendship was put to the test in 1856, when the Persians again besieged Herat. The British not only helped Dost Muhammad with money and arms, but declared war against Persia, and sent a force from Bombay. The Persians came to terms on January 27, 1857 by the treaty of Paris.[4]

This friendly feeling was first disturbed in 1862 when Dost Muhammad became aggressive and was forced to march against

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1. The Amir of Kabul.
2. Memoirs of Sir Herber Edwards I, (1886) p. 236.
3-a. Aitchson C. U.: Vol. II (1873) p. 430.
  b. Memoirs of Sir Herbert Edwards I., Vol. I (1886) p. 244.
4-a. Wyllie J.W.S.: Essays on the External policy of India (1875) p. 87.
  b. Aitchison C.U., Vol. II (1873) pp. 431-33.
  c. Memoirs of Sir Herbert Edwards I., (1886) pp. 260-61.
5. The ruler of Herat and the son of Azim Khan, who succeeded to the first place amongst the Barakzais on the death of the great Vazir, Fateh Khan.

Herat. Sultan Jan[5] believed that he had as good a right to rule the Afghans as his uncle and father-in-law, Dost Muhammad. With the intention of attacking Kandahar, Sultan Jan entered Sabjawar, 40 miles from Farrah in March 1862, and the next month he took Farrah by treachery.[6] His progress towards Kandahar was, however, stopped short at Khasrud river, mid-way between Farrah and Girishk by Muhammad Sharif Khan[7] who was ordered by his father, Dost Muhammad Khan, to proceed with his whole force towards Farrah with the object of arresting Sultan Jan's progress.[8] So far the conflict was not one between the great powers but between the Amir of Kabul and his son-in-law who was also his nephew. No communication had yet passed between Sultan Jan and the Persians.

The recapture of Farrah by the ruler of Herat was made a pretext by Dost Muhammad Khan for an attack on Herat. In such a situation Persia could not remain a passive spectator. The Shah of Persia was, therefore, very anxious that no time was to be lost in bringing the matter to the notice of Her Majesty's Government[9] in India, in the hope that the latter would take immediate steps towards preventing any movement on the part of Dost Muhammad Khan towards Herat territory.[10] Persia considered Farrah as belonging to Herat and declared that it had been taken from Herat by the ruler of Kandahar on the death of Yar Muhammad Khan in 1852.[11]

Sir Charles Wood was also of opinion that the Government of India should dissuade Dost Muhammad Khan from embarking upon such a hostile activity against the ruler of Herat. In a secret despatch to Lord Elgin, he wrote:—

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[6] Foreign pol., Progs. April 1862., No. 186, March 27, 1862.

[7] Hakim of Girishk.

[8] Diary of the Kabul Vakil., March 9, 1862.

[9] According to the terms of the 6th article of the treaty of Paris the Persians could not interfere in any Afghan quarrel without consulting Her Britanic Majesty's Government.

[10] Confidential report from Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, April 22, 1862.

[11]-a. Col. Taylor's report of 1858 on Seistan.
b. Durand's Essays and Minutes., Vol. I (1883) p 298.

"I have to request that, with advertance to the terms of the treaty of Paris, you will take any steps to dissuade the Kabul Sardars from undertaking or encouraging any hostile demonstration against the territories of the ruler of Herat."[12]

Lord Elgin, however, was very much against such interference on the part of the British Government in this Afghan quarrel.[13]

Col. Durand who also favoured the non-intervention policy of Lord Elgin, stated:—

"I was greatly in hopes that the Home Govt. would not have ordered any intervention in the contest now going on between Dost Muhammad and Sultan Jan, and would at the same time have discountenanced any pretensions of Persia to be the arbiter of the question whether Farrah belonged to Herat or not. It appears to me, however, that acting on the dicta of Persia, the Home Govt. are forgetting that Farrah has been in the hands of Kandahar and Kabul ever since Yar Muhammad died, i.e. since 1852; and that at all times Farrah has for long centuries been a bone of contention, those holding it who, for the time, could manage to take it. The injunction to dissuade the Amir from hostile movements against Herat territory, including therein Farrah, came rather too late, as Farrah was already closely besieged by the advanced corps of the Afghans, and if Dost Muhammad take it, he will do so before anything from hence could reach him."[15]

Writing to Sir Charles Mill, he urged, "there may be many vicissitudes in this Afghan struggle, and our wise course would seem to await in quiet strength the further development of these conflicts."[16]

On June 3, 1862, the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, with troops, mustering 45,000 men, sawars, and footmen, 30,000 mules, 5,000 ponies, 10,000 asses, and 60 elephants, left Ahmedshahi for Farrah. Two of his sons, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan, moved two stages further with 15,000 troops. Mir Ismail Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, was left with

[12] Secret Desp. from Secy. of State., June 3, 1862.

[13] G.G.'s Secret Desp. to Secy. of State, July 16, 1862,

[14] Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India.

[15] Col. Durand to Sir J. Lawrence, July 1862. vide Essays and Minute of Col. Durand, Vol. I (1883) p. 298.

[16] Durand's Letters and Journals, Vol. I (1883) p. 297.

sepoys at Ahmedshahi to maintain peace and order there.[17] On his way the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was met by the ambassadors from Persia[18] and Herat with the messages bearing on the subject of peace. But the Amir gave little heed to it and the ambassadors returned disappointed.[19]

Muhammad Afzal[20] with troops numbering 25,000 and 30 guns was ordered by Dost Muhammad to leave for Herat by Balkh and Maimana.[21] The Amir himself marched towards Farrah along with Sardars Sher Ali Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Muhammad Sharif Khan, and, after arriving at "Dilarom" and "Behoodur" reached Khillutgarh on June 30, 1862.[22]

On the evening of July 4, 1862, when the Amir was still half-a-day's journey from Farrah, it was taken by him without any battle or engagement.[23] Mir Afzal Khan, the Governor of Farrah was satisfied by the heir-apparent Sardar Sher Ali Khan[24] and the matter was settled by an annual payment of Rs. 3,00,000 to Mir Afzal Khan.[25]

17-a. Kandahar Newsletter. June 3, 1862.

b. Foreign Pol. A., Nos. 113-14, From M. J. Shaw Stewart, Acting Secy, Bombay Govt. to Col. Durand, No. 77, July 29, 1862.

18. The Shah of Persia anticipated their invasion of the Persian frontier.

19-a. Foreign Pol. A. Nos. 113-14; From Bombay Govt. to Govt. of India, No. 77, July 29, 1862.

b. Office Memo. from Commr. of Sind, No. 122, July 19, 1862.

20. Son of Dost Muhammad Khan.

21. Foreign Pol., No. 113, July 29, 1862., From J. W. S, Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 767, Aug. 1, 1862.

22-a. Service Message from Secy. to the Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand, July 24, 1862., Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862, No. 1,

b. From J. T. Wheeler to Bombay Govt., No. 701, Aug. 1, 1862.

c. Foreign Pol. A., Nos. 199-200., From Bombay Govt. to Foreign Secy, to the Govt. of India., No. 78, Aug. 8, 1862.

d. Memo. from S. Mansfield, Commr. of Sind, No. 131, July 31, 1862.

23-a. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State, No. 5, Sept. 10, 1862.

b. Kandahar Newsletter, July 4, 1862., Foreign Pol. A, Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 69-70.

24. Sher Ali had a friendly meeting with Mir Afzal Khan and advised him not to fight with the Amir who was like his father. Sher Ali pledged that all his wishes would be fulfilled if he gives up fighting as the Amir shall never give up Farrah.

25-a. Kandahar Newsletter, July 4, 1862.

b. J. W. S. Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 810, Aug. 30, 1862.

After taking Farrah, Dost Muhammad decided to march towards Herat.[26] Sardar Sher Ali and Sardar Muhamad Khan with their troops were ordered to leave for Herat on July 5, 1862 and the Amir himself with his troops followed on July 6, 1862.[27] The Amir's forces reached Sabjawar on July 13, 1862.[28] The Chiefs and Maliks of Sabjawar tendered their allegiance to Dost Muhammad and they were required to furnish a small sum of money[29] till the fate of Herat was decided. The camp marched towards Herat on July 17, 1862.[30]

The Amir's march towards Herat created some uneasiness in India also. There were some who pressed Lord Elgin to stay the Amir's advance for fear of a likely rupture with Persia, which might come forward in defence of Herat.[31] Besides, there was a secret fear of Russia also, which stood behind Persia. But, to all such counsel, Lord Elgin gave little heed.[32] He was very much averse to any interference on the part of the British Gdvernment in this quarrel between two Afghan parties. He was of opinion that the taking of one step would involve the taking of many others in the interests of the preservation of British honour.[33] In this matter Lord Elgin ignored the advice of everyone including Sir Charles Wood. He was convinced that the best policy for his Government was to leave the Afghan neighbours as much as possible alone; to mix up as little as possible in their endless intrigue, which generally entailed serious obligations not infrequently leading to most unexpected issues.[34]

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[26] Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 1-2.

[27] -a. Kandahar Newsletter, July 6, 1862.
b. Foreign Pol. A., No. 2., Service Message from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Secy., Govt. of India, July 26. 1862.

[28] -a. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., No. 30., Service Message from Punjab Govt. to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, July 31, 1862.
b. J. W. S. Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 723, Aug. 8, 1862.

[29] Kabul Diary, July 11-14, 1862.

[30] -a. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., No. 83, from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand, Aug. 6, 1862.
b. Foreign Pol. A, Progs. Aug. 1862., No. 30, From J. W. S. Wyllie to Bombay Govt., No. 752, Aug. 15, 1862.

[31] -a. Foreign Pol. A., No. 39., Service message from Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand., July 22, 1862.
b. Letter from Her Majesty's principal Secy. for Foreign Affairs to the Secy. of State for India, July 8, 1862.

[32] Service message from the Punjab Govt., No. 163, March 14, 1862.

[33] Ibid: pp. 417-18.

"I am strongly of opinion," he wrote to Sir Charles Wood, "that we should only speak when we have a case of self-interest so clear that we can speak with determination, and follow up our talk, if necessary, with a blow."[35]

Lord Elgin had no toleration for "that prurient intermeddling policy which finds so much favour with certain classes of Indian officials." His ambition for the sake of England rose far above the notion of trying to "play a great part in small intrigues," and scouted all interference for which "an important plea for right or duty could not be maintained."[36]

There was only one thing which Lord Elgin consented to do at that juncture—namely the withdrawal of his Vakil or Indian agent from the court of the Amir of Kabul which in the event of Dost Muhammad's pushing on to Herat, would leave the latter free to follow his own devices, with no direct countenance from the Indian Government.[37]

Secret overtures were made to Dost Muhammad by influential persons in Herat but he replied that without the submission of the Wali of Herat, nothing could be arranged.[38] An envoy was also sent from the court of Persia. The letter brought by him from the Governor of Meshed, containing friendly professions, was read The Amir, replying to that letter, expressed his thanks for the friendly expressions, but declared that the insolence and ingratitude of the Wali of Herat called for adequate punishment. His action in not informing the Persian Government of his movements was in conformity with the treaty of Paris with other Governments, including the Government of Persia, that no foreign interference could be exercised in purely Afghan matters. The Amir further stated that, if the Persian Government, not looking upon this as a purely Afghan question, should consider the Wali of Herat as connected with the Persian Government, the Amir, being in close alli-

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34. Lord Elgin's Desp. to Secy. of State., July 16, 1862.
35. Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873) pp. 417-18.
36. Ibid: p. 418.
37. Walrond: Afghan Blue Book (1878).
38. Service message from R. G. Taylor, Commissioner, Peshwar to Col. Durand, Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 101, Sept. 8, 1862.

ance and friendship with the British Government, would obtain the latter's assistance. The Amir concluded by urging upon the Persian Government not to place the reputation of the Kabul Government and that of the Wali of Herat on the same footing, but to have regard to the insolence of the latter towards the Amir.[39]

On July 30, 1862, the Amir advanced on Herat and his advance guard of Cavalry had a skirmish with that of the enemy but the actual attack on Herat was commenced on July 31, 1862.[40] By Aug. 4, 1862, the entrenchments round the town were completed,[41] and the same day, a letter was received by Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan from Shahnawaz Khan,[42] asking for pardon. But, the Amir declared that he would hear nothing until Herat was again in his hands.[43]

So, as the aged Amir was bent on going his own way, Lord Elgin at once ordered the withdrawal of Khan Bahadur Ghulam Husain Khan, the British Vakil at Kabul[44] and the following instructions were issued by his Government: —

"From the reports previously received from Farrah the Viceroy and Governor-General has understood that that Amir Dost Muhammad Khan is in communication with Sultan Jan. If by this correspondence an adjustment of the rapture should not be arrived at, and the Amir proceeds to make attack on Herat, in such a case the Viceroy and the Governor-General according to the terms of the treaty of Paris cannot sanction the pressure of any person connected with the British Government in the Amir's camp, lest it should be supposed that the Kabul Government is countenanced in attacking Herat by the British Government."[45]

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[39] Kandahar Newsletter, July 29, 1862.

[40] a. Foreign Pol., No. 201, Service Message from Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand., Aug. 23, 1862.
b. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, July 29-31, 1862.
c. J. W. S. Wyllie to the Punjab Govt., No. 812, Aug. 30, 1862.

[41] Kabul Diary, dated Aug. 4, 1862.

[42] Son of Sultan Jan., the Wali of Herat.

[43] Service Message from the Deputy Commissioner of Peshwar to Col. Durand., Sept. 11, 1862.

[44] a. Secret Desp. to Secy. of State, No. 1, Sept. 2, 1862.
b. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 39-40.

[45] Telegraphic Message from the Foreign Secy., Govt. of India to the Secy. to the Punjab Govt., Aug. 5, 1862.

The above message was received by the Secretary to the Punjab Government on Aug. 7, 1862, who was asked to forward it to the Commissioner of the Peshwar Division for speedy action.[46]

Lt.-Col. Reynell G. Taylor,[47] wrote to the British Vakil at Kabul, directing him to return at once from the Amir's camp and if it was not possible for him to do so, considering that he was in an enemy's country, at a time of war, advising him to show his letter to the Amir and make him fully aware of its contents. Having done so, he was asked to leave Herat and remain for the time-being at Kandahar or at any such place as the Amir might direct; but holding himself completely aloof and his duties as Vakil were for the time, at an end.[48]

Lord Elgin also informed Sir Charles Wood that he had, after a good deal of consideration as to how he could, with least risk of getting his Government into trouble, put a spoke in Dost Muhammad's wheel in his progress towards Herat by despatching to Sir Robert Montgomery,[49] an order for the withdrawal of the British Vakil from the Amir's Camp. The measure committed the Indian Government to nothing so that Dost Muhammad could have no such claims upon the British Government as he would naturally have had, if they (the Indian Government) had tendered advice to him. At the same time it induced the Amir to abandon his own projects, thus leaving the Britishers free to shape their policy as the shifting current of events might prescribe. Lord Elgin wrote, "we are quite entitled to say to the Amir that his hostile advance on Herat has not our approval, and we must show that he is making it without our sanction. This we do in the most emphatic manner, by withdrawing the only British official who is with him. But I do not like to go further in the direction of interference. It is impossible to say how matters may terminate in Afghanistan. It is possible that the Amir Dost Muhammad may come to an understanding with Sultan Jan, who is his connection by marriage. It is very desirable that we should be free to accept the status quo whatever it may be."[50]

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[46] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862, Nos. 224-25.

[47] The Commissioner, Peshwar Division.

[48]-a. Letter to the British Vakil from the Commissioner of Peshwar Division, No. 10, Aug. 7, 1862.

b. Commissioner, Peshwar to the Secy. to the Punjab Govt., No. 12, Aug. 11, 1862.

c. Secy., Punjab Govt. to the Commissioner, Peshwar, No. 608, Aug. 14, 1862.

d. Pol. Secret Deptt., Progs. Aug. 1862, No. 1, From Punjab Govt. to the Govt. of India, Nos. 224-25, Aug. 24 and Aug. 30, 1862.

[49] Secy. to the Punjab Govt.

By that time, Dost Muhammad Khan had reached Herat and fought two or three battles with the Heratees at 'Adirskoon' and 'Humeeran' in which the Heratees were defeated and Mir Afzal Khan fled to the fort. Three of the gates of Herat were battered down, but two were sill undamaged. The position at that time was that the Heratees sometimes came out of their city, fought and again retreated.[51]

During these engagements, Abbas Khan, an ambassador from Persia came to the Amir and stated that the territory of Herat belonged to Persia. He said the Amir had nothing to do with it, and had no right to fight for it. But Dost Muhammad replied that the Persians had no business to interfere; and that as to the question of right to the territory, it belonged to the Afghans as far as the boundary of 'Chandan.' He said that it was Sultan Ahmed Jan who had interfered with Farrah and that if the Persians intended to fight, they could do their worst.[52]

By Aug. 14, 1862, all the five gates of Herat were blocked by the Amir's forces. There had been hard fighting with severe losses on both sides.[53] An envoy from Teheran again visited the Amir's Camp but the latter refused to listen to any terms and declared his determination to take Herat.[54]

At this time again many people pressed Lord Elgin to communicate with the Amir Dost Muhammad of Kabul on the subject of permanent annexation of the province of Herat to the Amir's dominions.[55] Reynell G. Taylor, the Commissioner of Peshawar, expressed his opinion that the Amir had, from the very first, conceived the hope of obtaining possession of Herat. It being a family quarrel, he was sure of the non-interference of any other Government.

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[50] a. Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood., Aug. 9. 1862.
b. Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873) p. 419

[51] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 111, Sept. 30, 1862.

[52] Kandahar Newsletter, July 1862.

[53] Service Message from Dy. Commr., Peshwar to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, No. 144. Sept. 11, 1862.

[54] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1862., No. 100, Sept. 12, 1862.

[55] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, From Secy., Punjab Govt., to Secy., Govt of India, Nos. 545-706, Sept. 23, 1862.

"I have carefully watched," he said, "the progress of events, and have seen no cause to doubt the genuineness of Sultan Ahmed Jan's mistake, or the Amir's promptitude and sagacity in taking advantage of it. Once in Herat, the Amir would annex the province to his dominions."[56]

Faced with the prospect of the occupation of Herat by the ruler of Kabul, the Commissioner of Peshawar was of opinion that, under the terms of the existing treaty with Persia, the Supreme Government should make some communication to the Amir of Kabul on the Subject.[57]

But Lord Elgin did not propose to take any action in the direction of interference in the Afghan quarrel beyond that which had already been adopted by him i.e., the withdrawal of the British Vakil from the Court of the Amir of Kabul in the event of the latter's proceeding to acts of hostility against Herat. He said that "as regards British interests, there is nothing untoward in the extension of the Amir's dominions to the Persian frontiers." He also thought it unadvisable to proclaim unnecessary that the annexation of Herat to Kabul will not be tolerated.[58]

On the other hand, Lord Elgin thought it no less objectionable, by a premature declaration, to commit the British Government to a policy which was to be resented by Persia. "Circumstances may occur," he said, "which may force the British Government to make a choice between these not very promising alternatives, but it is clearly advisable to watch the course of events, and to postpone, until the necessity for action arrives, a decision which it may be possible to maintain without war, or to recede from without loss of dignity."[59]

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[56] From Commr., Peshwar to Secy., Punjab Govt., Sept. 1862.
[57] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 113, Sept. 23, 1862.
[58] Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 117.
[59] Col. Durand to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 931; Oct. 11, 1862.

He, therefore, requested the Commissioner of Peshwar to inform the Amir that the Viceroy had viewed with profound regret the outbreak and progress of hostilities between the Amir and the ruler of Herat. That His Excellency entertained a sincere friendship for the Amir and took a lively interest in his prosperity and in the prosperity of his people. Lord Elgin was convinced that the Amir was too able a man and too experienced a ruler, to suppose that he could count on the support of the British Government in the prosecution of enterprises which had been undertaken and carried on, not only without the countenance of the British Government, but with an ostentatious avoidance of all the customary means for ascertaining its wishes or securing its approval.[60]

Sir Charles Wood was also told by Lord Elgin that at the present time it would be inadvisable for the British Government to pronounce any formal and authoritative decision for or against the annexation of Herat to the dominion of the ruler of Kabul. In so doing, the British Government could pledge itself, not improbably, to a line of policy which it might be possible to adhere to without war or to abandon without loss of dignity.[61] He wrote, "as soon as the intelligence reached us that the Amir had resolved to proceed beyond Farrah in the direction of Herat, we despatched an order for the withdrawal of our Vakil from the Amir's Court in the form of a telegraphic message, and by the most direct channel of communication available. But we purposely detained from taking the step at an earlier period, because we felt that if by so insignificant manipulation of disapproval we had arrested the measures the Amir was adopting, he might not, unreasonably have applied to the British Government to espouse his quarrel, and to obtain redress for him for the injury and insult he had sustained. An appeal to which we could hardly have turned a deaf ear, without forfeiting his friendship, or listened without involving ourselves in most embarrassing position with Persia. But our order for the recall of our Vakil did not reach in time and it had been good in a way as the pressure of our Vakil at the Camp of the Amir had been the means of procuring for us much valuable information, for which we might otherwise have thought in vain. It may be hoped that the order for his recall when it will reach him will have the effect of inclining the Amir towards the adoption of a different policy, by raising doubts in his mind as to how far he can count British co-operation in the event of his getting into trouble with Persia."[62]

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[60] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 117, Oct. 11, 1862.

[61]-a. Foreign Pol. (Secret) Deptt., Oct. 11, 1862.

b. From Col. Durand to Sir John Lawrence, July 1862, Vide Durand's Letters and Journals, Vol. 1 (1883) p. 296.

In September, when Ghulam Hussain Khan, the British representative received an official letter from the British authorities from India, directing him to leave the Amir's Camp and to return to Kandahar or any place the Amir would like him to reside in, went to the Amir and gave him the letter to read. The Amir was very much disappointed after going through the contents of the letter. He was all along of the opinion that the British would help him in the Herat affair. However, he was not afraid of the Persians helping the ruler of Herat but looking at the old ties of friendship he stated that he would inform the British Government at the time of crisis, if here be any, and, then let them do as they thought right.[63]

The Vakil left Herat on Sept. 11, 1862[64] by the orders of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and reached Kandahar on Oct. 7, 1862.[65]

On the other side, as the Shah of Persia anticipated the invasion by Dost Muhammad Khan of the Persian frontier, he solicited Mr. Alison, Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, to obtain the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to arrest the surmised aggressive movements of the central force across the Persian frontier.[66] But Sir Charles Wood could see no reason for believing that Dost Muhammad contemplated any aggressive operations against Persia. He was of the opinion that the conflict was between two Afghan parties; and neither the Persian Government, nor the British Government would be justified in interfering so long as the war was confined to Afghan territory.[67] He thought that, if there appeared to be any probability of the Amir's intention to cross the Persian frontier, and thus carry the war into Persian dominion, Mr. Alison might in that case, very properly remonstrate against such proceedings and convey to Dost Muhammad the strong disapprobation with which his aggressive movements against Persia would be regarded by the British Government.[68]

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[62] Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood, No. 2, Oct. 18. 1862.

[63] Letter from Hafiz jee, Amir's Camp, to Commissioner of Peshwar, Sept. 27, 1862.

[64] Service Message from Offg. Dy. Commr., Peshwar, to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, No. 133, Oct. 20, 1862.

[65] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Nov. 1862, No. 134.

[66] Mr. Alison's Desp., No. 95, June 30, 1862.

[67] Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs from 1858-66 (1867) pp. 148-49.

Sir Charles Wood's reply caused much disappointment to the Shah of Persia,[69] but he definitely declared that as Persia had no right under the treaty of Paris to interfere in a contest between the Afghan states, she only looked to the protection of her frontier against an Afghan invasion.[70]

As Dost Muhammad Khan was advancing towards Herat, the Shah of Persia again sent for Mr. Alison on Sept. 8, 1862, and expressed his extreme anxiety at the prospect of the annexation of Herat by Dost Muhammad Khan, which he thought would be fatal to Persia.[71] He therefore persisted that the British Government should, under the terms of the treaty of Paris, adopt measures for removing that apprehension. Besides, Dost Muhammad was meddling in Seistan and instigating the Turkomans to invade Persia.[72]

But in the opinion of Sir Charles Wood, all the statements of the Shah of Persia were too vague to call for any action on the part of the British Government under the terms of the 6th article of the treaty of Paris. As regards Seistan, he informed Mr. Alison that the sovereignty of Persia over that disputed territory had never been acknowledged by the British Government.[73]

Later, an interview was held between H.E. Mirza Husain, the Persian Envoy at Constantinople, and H.E. Earl Russel, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on Sept. 24, 1862 at the foreign office respecting the state of affairs in Afghanistan.[74]

[68] Confidential Letter to Lord Russel, Her Majesty's Principal Secy. of State for Foreign affairs, Aug. 18, 1862.

[69] Telegram from Sir H. Buliver, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Sept. 1, 1862.

[70] Mr. Alison's Desp. to Foreign Office, Aug. 23, 1862.

[71] Mr. Alison's letter to Sie H. Buliver, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, dated Sept. 8, 1862.

[72] Telegram from Sir H. Buliver, dated Sept. 18, 1862.

[73] Wood's confidential letter to Sir H. Buliver, dated Sept. 24, 1862.

[74] Letter from Foreign Office to the Office of the Secy. of State for India, dated Sept. 25, 1862.

The Persian Envoy contended that Great Britain was bound to remove all causes of umbrage and dispute between Persia and Afghanistan. He pointed out that if the British Government is against interdicting Dost Muhammad Khan on the seizue of Herat, they would allow the Persians to use their own forces to prevent the capture of Herat. The Turkomans on one side and the Tekhi Tribe on the other side of Herat were hostile to Persia, and by the aid of Dost Muhammad would constitute, it was feared, a real danger to Persia, as the possession of Herat by Dost Muhammad Khan would in itself be a menace to Persia. He urged that if the Persian Government were allowed to keep Dost Muhammad Khan out of Herat, they would at once after accomplishing that work leave Afghanistan to manage its own affairs in compliance with the treaty of Paris.[75]

Lord Russel replying to it, said that with respect to the then existing circumstances the British Government, in accordance with their treaty engagements, were already endeavouring to compose the differences between Persia and Dost Muhammad and had instructed Mr. Alison to use his good offices for that purpose. The British Government had no desire to see Dost Muhammad in possession of Herat. But he said it would not be just to let the ruler of Herat attack Dost Muhammad whenever he pleased.[76] But if Dost Muhammad should get possession of Herat and assume a threatening attitude towards Persia, then certainly Persia subject to the provisions of the treaty of Paris, might take up arms to defend herself against aggression on the part of Dost Muhammad Khan.[77]

But the Persians were afraid that after taking Herat Dost Muhammad might threaten the interior of Khorasan and Kirman. In that case, no other means remained for the Persians to adopt, with a view to protecting the independence of Herat[78] and to preventing the slave trade of Persians carried on by the hostile Afghans, then to take steps in accordance with the tenure of the 7th article of the treaty of Paris, and after freeing herself from troubles and devastations and ensuring the perpetual independence of Herat withdraw.[79]

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[75] Lord Russel's Desp. to Mr. Alison, Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, dated Sept. 25, 1862.

[76] From Col. Durand to Sir John Lawrence, July 1862, Vide Durand's Essays and Minutes. Vol. I (1883) p. 298.

[77] Letter from Lord Russel to Mirza Husain Khan, dated Oct. 6, 1862.

[78] According to the terms of the treaty of Paris (March 4, 1857), it was decided that Herat should be independent of Afghan (Kabul) control.

In October 1862, the Persians again complained of Dost Muhammad's not being content with attacking Herat only, but demanding submission of Seistan also, hitherto treated as an integral part of Persia. The Shah of Persia demanded of Her Majesty's Government the execution of the 7th article of the treaty of Paris. It stipulated that "in case of any violations of the Persian frontier by any of the states (including Afghanistan) the Persian Government shall have the right, if due satisfaction is not given, to undertake military operations for the repression and punishment of the aggressors."[80] But as Her Majesty's Government did not recognize the sovereignty of Persia over Seistan, they could not admit that the demand made by Dost Muhammad for the submission of Seistan, constituted a case, in which, under the 7th article of the treaty of Paris, they could be called upon to acquiesce in any military operations undertaken by Persia against Afghanistan.[81]

Although the Government of India was trying to avoid Persian Interference in this Afghan struggle, yet they also did not recognize the Amir's expedition to Herat and refused to give him any aid in his venture. They informed the Amir that the Governor-General felt assured that the Amir, a man of so much discernment and acuteness, and a ruler of such distinguished experience, would not look for the aid of the British Government, in an enterprise, in which neither at its commencements, nor during its progress, had any countenance been afforded by that Government. In which moreover the Amir had, at all times and in every way, intentionally and of set purpose, abstained from ascertaining its views or obtaining its approval.[82] Thus the British Government made him aware that they were totally free from any responsibility or connection with his acts and their results.[83]

[79] Letter from Mirza Husain Khan to Lord Russel, dated Sept. 26, 1862.

[80] Mr. Erskine's letter to Lord Russel, dated Oct. 1862.

[81]-a. Lord Russel's confidential letter to Sir Charles Alison, dated Oct. 30, 1862.

b. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State to Lord Elgin, No. 1 of 1863.

[82] Letter from Foreign Secy., Govt. of India to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 931, Oct. 11, 1862, Paragraph 7.

[83] From Commissioner, Peshwar to Secy, Punjab Govt. No. 58, April 28, 1863.

The matters at Herat were still unchanged; the beseiged were hard up and short of supplies. They did not appear to derive any assistance from Persia but their Chief Sultan Jan was still firm.[84]

The Shah of Persia also tried to seek the help of Russia by informing the Russian ambassador that while the British Government interdicted the interference of Persia in Herat affairs, they themselves were secretly aiding the Amir of Kabul in the strife otherwise the Amir would long ago have given up his position in the seige of Herat. The Emperor of Russia promised to help Persia only in the event of the failure of the talks between the English and the Persian Envoys. He stated that Persia would then be free to make war with Kabul, and would receive the assistance of Russia.[85] The Shah of Persia anyway ordered for the arrangement of supplies at Meshad so that in the event of the army of Persia having to march in the direction of Herat, there would be no difficulty about supplies.[86]

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Jan, the Wali of Herat, died on Monday, April 6, 1863 and his remains were interred on the 8th at the shrine of Khwaja Abdulla. The funeral rites were attended by the heir-apparent, Sardar Sher Ali Khan, and other Kabul Sardars. Sardar Shahnawaz Khan, a son of the late Sultan Jan put his Uncle Omar Khan in his father's place and actively engaged himself in the defence of Herat.[87]

After the death of Sultan Ahmad Jan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan wanted to settle the Herat affair with Shahnawaz Khan by giving him whatever land he coveted in Kabul dominion. But

[84] Diary off the Kabul Vakil, Feb. 24-26, 1863.

[85]-a. Letter from the Foreign Office to the Office of the Secy. of State for India, dated March 6, 1863.

b. Wood's Secret Desp. to Lord Elgin, No. 1, March 18, 1863.

c. Letter from Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Charge 'd' affairs at Teheran, No. 15, Feb. 4, 1863.

[86]-a. Service Message from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Foreign Secy., G. G's Camp, No. 163, March 14, 1863, Foreign Pol. A., Progs. May 1863, No. 86.

b. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, March 6-9, 1863.

[87] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. June 1863, No. 114, April 23, 1863.

Shah Nawaz Khan refused to come to any terms with the Amir, and replied that he would die an honourable death in Herat rather than give it up to the Amir.[88]

But, before Herat could be finally captured, a great battle was fought between the Amir's troops and the Heratees for three days and nights in which many lives were lost.[89] On Wednesday, May 27, 1863, Sardars Sher Ali Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan and Fateh Muhammad Khan were asked to make a joint attack on the fort. Sardar Sher Ali Khan with his troops succeeded in storming the fort and after putting the enemy to flight, captured the city of Herat on the same day.[90] Sardar Shahnawaz Khan, Sikandar Ahmad Khan and Abdullah Khan, the three brothers and their uncle Omar Khan were taken prisoners.[91]

The next day i.e., May 28, 1863, Sardar Sher Ali Khan was appointed Governor of Herat. Vigorous measures were at once adopted for restoring peace and order and also for organizing the Civil Administration of the place.[92] Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan with his brothers and uncle, together with a number of influential chiefs of Herat was sent to Kandahar under a large escort of Kabul troops.

The capture of Herat was the last great act of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan's eventful life.[93] During the ten months' seige of Herat, the Amir carried out his enterprise with great difficulty —through the severities of winter, lack of supplies, suffering himself at times from sickness and the infirmity of age, with dissensions among his sons and the possibility of Persian interference to add to his anxieties.[94]

[88] Kabul Diary, May 4-7, 1863.

[89] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1863, Nos. 8-9, July 10, 1863.

[90]-a. Secret Desp. to the Secy. of State, No. 3, July 11, 1863.
b. Letter from Sher Ali to Commr., Peshwar, dated June 12. 1863.
c. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1863, No. 92.
d. Memoirs fo Sir H. Edwards, Vol. I, pp. 267-68.

[91] Letter from Amir Dost Muhammad to Lord Elgin, dated May 28, 1863.

[92] Desp. from the Foreign Deptt., Teheran to Earl Russel, No. 61. June 26, 1863.

[93] Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India (1875) p. 24.

[94] Letter from Commissioner, Peshwar to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 102; June 19, 1863.

In reply to the Amir's announcement of the capture of Herat, Lord Elgin congratulated him through the British Vakil, whose presence in the Amir's Camp was now of much importance in order to obtain reliable information of what was occurring in Herat. Lord Elgin said that the news of the capture of Herat gave satisfaction to the British Government as it had brought to a conclusion the hostilities in Afghanistan, the outbreak of which the British Government had viewed with profound regret and intimated its inability to countenance or support the Amir. He said the Amir must now be conscious of the deep apprehensions which his success was sure to create in the mind of the Shah of Persia. As the Amir was also aware of the nature of the treaty obligations existing between the British Government and Persia, Lord Elgin warned him against any enterprize which could justly give umbrage to Persia and warrant an appeal on the part of the Shah of Persia to the provisions of the treaty thus endangering the interests both of Persia and of the Amir.[95]

Twelve days after the capture of Herat, Dost Muhammad Khan died on June 9, 1863, at the age of 80,[96] leaving his favourite son Sardar Sher Ali Khan, master for the moment of all Afghanistan.[97] The Amir was buried in accordance with his last wish at the Shrine of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari.[98]

Sardar Sher Ali Khan at once assumed the title of Amir and ordered the provinces of Kandahar, Kabul and Turkistan to coin money in his name and mention him as their King in their prayer. After arranging the matters at Herat, he returned to Kabul on July 2, 1863.[99]

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[95] Khureeta from Lord Elgin to Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul, No. 89, July 3, 1863.

[96] -a. Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India (1875) p. 24.
b. From Sher Ali Khan to Commissioner, Peshwar, June 12, 1863.
c. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1863, Nos., 90-92.
d. Secret Desp. to Secy. of State; No. 3; July 11, 1863.

[97] Desp. from Foreign Deptt., Teheran to Earl Russel, No. 68, July 21, 1863.

[98] Letter from Sardar Sher Ali Khan to British Vakil, June 12, 1863.

[99] -a. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, June 21, 1863.
b. Secret Desp. to Secy. of State, No. 5, July 28, 1863.
c. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State, No. 2 of 1864.

In replying to the letter written by Lord Elgin to the late Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, Sardar Sher Ali Khan assured the Viceroy that at no time would there be any injury or offence committed by those in charge of the Herat frontiers, on the borders of Persian territory. He assured the Viceroy that, on leaving Herat he had already reiterated those instructions to those left in charge of Herat in the most stringent manner forbidding them to violate the territories of Persia in any manner. He also expressed his desire to follow exactly in his father's footsteps in the friendship and close alliance which Dost Muhammad had preserved with the British Government. He hoped that the British Government would continue to act towards his Government in the same spirit of kindness and friendship as in the past.[100]

Though Sher Ali Khan was indicated as the successor by the late Amir Dost Muhammad Khan,[101] two of Sher Ali's elder half-brothers, Afzal Khan and Azim Khan had no mind to accept their father's choice of a successor, without a struggle for their own claims. The result was that a fierce struggle for the crown commenced between the most prominent of Dost Muhammad's twelve major sons.[102]

But, only five played a prominent part in the civil war—Afzal Khan and Azim Khan, sons of one mother; and Sher Ali Khan Amin Khan and Sharif Khan; sons of another and more highly born lady.[103] Sher Ali, faced with the prospect of a prolonged civil war, naturally wanted to maintain friendly relations with the British Government. He informed the Commissioner, Peshwar Division, of his earnest desire to maintain the alliance with them.[104]

First, Amin Khan, then Sharif Khan, and, lastly, Azim Khan, abruptly quitted Herat, and retired to their respective places. Sher

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[100]-a. Letter from Sardar Sher Ali Khan to Lord Elgin; Foreign Pol. A; Progs. Nov. 1863, No. 61, Sept. 21, 1863.

b. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, Aug. 11-13, 1863.

c. Secret Desp. to Secy of State, No. 8, Nov. 4, 1863.

[101]. There being no settled rule for succession in Afghanistan, the selection according to custom was authorative.

[102]. Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India (1875) pp. 118-19.

[103]. Sykes: History of Afghanistan; Vol. II; p. 71.

[104]. Sher Ali to R. G. Taylor, Commr., Peshwar; June 12, 1863, Foreign Pol. A. Progs., Sept. 1863, No. 92.

Ali himself began his return march towards Kabul in July, 1863, leaving his third son, Yakub Khan as Governor of Herat.[105] Nor was his promptitude unnecessary. Amin Khan had fled to Kandahar to organise resistance against Sher Ali's authority.[106] Sharif Khan, dissatisfied at not obtaining Herat had retired to Girishk and Farrah with hostile intentions.[107] Afzal Khan requested Sher Ali Khan to send Azim with a large force to help him in consolidating his power in Turkistan.[108] The new Amir Sher Ali naturally refused to strengthen his chief enemy—Afzal, and so Azim fled to his provinces—Khost and Kurram to await Afzal's approach from Turkistan.[109] The struggle really hinged on the mastery of Kabul. Sher Ali acted with great energy and promptitude. He reached Ghazni on August 24, 1863 and halted there in order to ascertain what Azim Khan was doing in the neighbouring district of Kurram. His enquiries elicited very unsatisfactory intelligence. He therefore diverged eastward with his whole force against Azim in Gurdez,[110] and compelled Azim Khan to tender a formal submission. Azim swore fealty to the Amir, and in return obtained a confirmation of all dignities and emoluments he had enjoyed under the late Amir.[111] Sher Ali then advanced on Kabul unopposed and occupied it on Sept. 9, 1863.[112] Afzal, whether from fear of losing his hold on Turkistan or from want of vigour, had abstained from advancing on Kabul while it was yet unoccupied.[113] Thus the first round of struggle ended in Sher Ali's favour.

Once again under these circumstances, Lord Elgin decided not to interfere in the internal disputes of Afghanistan, but he chose to recognise the defacto ruler.[114] His policy is clearly set forth in a despatch to the Secretary of State for India. He said therein,

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[105] Bouglar: England and Russia in Central Asia; Vol. II, p. 175.
[106] Kabul Diary, Sept. 18-21, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Jan. 1864, No. 284.
[107] Kabul Diary, July 3-6, 1863; Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1863, No. 95.
[108] Kabul Diary, July 17-20, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1863, No. 98.
[109] Kabul Diary, Aug. 21-24, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Nov. 1863, No. 59.
[110] Kabul Diary, Aug. 29-31, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Nov. 1863, No. 62.
[111]-a. Kabul Diary from Sept. 4-7, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Jan. 1864, No. 280.
b. Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India; (1875) pp. 27-28.
[112] Kabul Diary from Sept. 18-21, 1863, Pol. A., Progs. Jany. 1864, No. 284.
[113] Kabul Diary from Sept. 21-24, 1883.
[114] Causes of the Afghan War, being a sellection of the papers laid before the Parliament by Lawrence, p. 3.

"If it be true that Muhammad Afzal Khan is raising an army it will not be long before his contest for power begins. Meanwhile, the acknowledgement by the Vakil of the receipt of the letter and that a reply will be sent, as also the presence of the Vakil with Sher Ali, will be regarded as indication that the British Government are not indisposed to accept Dost Muhammad's election of his successor, provided the latter is in a position to uphold the authority thus conferred upon him."[115]

So, a friendly answer to a letter from the new Amir Sher Ali Khan, coupled with the despatch of his own Vakil to Kabul, were the only measures Lord Elgin could bring himself to adopt, and even these were delayed by his subsequent illness and untimely death in the month of November 1863.[116]

His policy was however continued and further developed by his successor, Lord Lawrence.

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115. Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood; No. 5, July 28, 1863.
116-a. Walrond: Afghan Blue Book (1878).
b. Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India (1875) p. 117.

The Date of Accession of Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka I of Madurai Settled by Letters of his Contemporary Fr. Robert de Nobili[1]

BY

REV. A. SAULIERE, S. J.

So far the date of Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka's death was uncertain, so was the date of accession of his successor, Muttu Vīrappa Nāyak I. An inscription[2] could be adduced as a proof that in April 1609, Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka was dead, but it did not exclude the possibility of his having died several years earlier.

Now, there are in the Archives of Prince Boncompagni[3] at Rome two letters of Fr. Robert de Nobili which, according to us, settle the question beyond dispute.

In the first, dated 6 December 1606, Fr. R. de Nobili writes to his cousin Costanza, Duchess of Sora:[4] "It is nearly a month since

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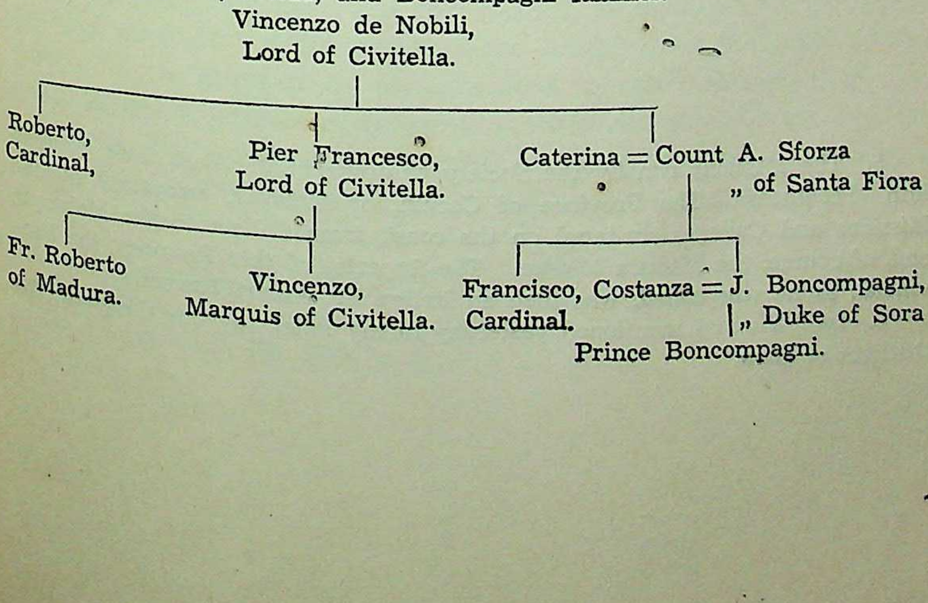
[1] Roberto de Nobili, born in Rome in 1577, joined the Society of Jesus at Naples, 1596, came to India in 1605, to Madurai in 1606, and died at Mylapore in 1656.

[2] S. Sathyanatha Aiyar: History of the Nayaks of Madura pp. 96-97 O. U. P., 1924.

[3] Giacomo Boncompagni, duke of Sora, was the founder of the Boncompagni Archives which for three and a half centuries have been preserved and increased by his successors down to the present Prince Boncompagni. They are now considered as the richest private collection in Rome, if not in the whole world.

[4] This lady was the daughter of Count Ascagno Sforza de Santa Fiora and of Caterina de Nobili, the sister of Pier Francisco, Fr. Robert de Nobili's father. She married the duke of Sora and helped with alms her cousin's work in Madura. That is how his letters to her were preserved thanks to the duke's fondness for documents. The following table will make clearer the connection between the Nobili, Sforza, and Boncompagni families.



Vincenzo de Nobili,
Lord of Civitella.
Roberto,
Cardinal,
Pier Francesco,
Lord of Civitella.
Caterina = Count A. Sforza
„ of Santa Fiora
Fr. Roberto
of Madura.
Vincenzo,
Marquis of Civitella.
Francisco,
Cardinal.
Costanza = J. Boncompagni,
„ Duke of Sora
Prince Boncompagni.

by order of the Superior of this Province,[5] I left the Fishery Coast for this beautiful and rich city, the capital of the Kingdom. Its king is very powerful and is the overlord of some other kings of the neighbourhood. He keeps in his pay a large permanent army and 300 elephants."

On the following day writing to the Duchess's mother, the dowager Countess Sforza de Santa Fiora, he says:

"The King of this country whom I mentioned[6] is dead, the present ruler is a young man with whom we have to bid out time till he has some knowledge of ourselves and our religion."

From this it would follow that Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka died in the night between the 6th and the 7th of December 1606, and that he was succeeded on the same date by Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka I.

Fr. Robert de Nobili owes a debt of gratitude to those two Nāyaks under whose protection he lived, and we are sure he would approve of our paying it for him by throwing some light on their history.

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[5] The Missions run by the Society of Jesus in the East were grouped into "Provinces". The Province of Cochin, or Malabar, comprised all the Missions and Colleges scattered on the coast, from Calicut to the Moluccas, and, of course, the Madura Mission. The Superior of that Province, the Provincial, as he was called, was then an Italian Fr. Albert Laerzio.

[6] i.e. "Whom I mentioned yesterday in my letter to your daughter, the Duchess of Sora."

Buddhist Antiquities in Karnataka

BY

P. B. Desai, M.A., Ootacamund.

The light of Buddhism spread over many parts of South India from early times. Karnāṭaka, however, unlike the Āndhra Dēśa and parts of the Tamiḻ Nāḍ, never came under the direct and full-range influence of this religion, nothwithstanding the missionary activities of Aśōka and his followers. Consequently the Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka are fewer in number and they are found in stray places only. In the course of several centuries this faith was able to establish a few strongholds of its own in the western parts of the Dekkan, the region of Banavāsi and south Kanara, and the northern area of Mysore. It is now well known that Aśōka's Minor Rock Edicts are found at Maski, Kopbal, Siddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara. The Buddhist leanings of the Mahābhōjas are testified by their inscriptions discovered in the western parts of the Dekkan.[1] An inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[2] speaks of the region of Banavāsi as having been converted to Buddhism by the monks of Ceylon. Partiality for Buddhism on the part of the chiefs of the Chuṭu family, who ruled roundabout Banavāsi, is already known.[3] According to the Mahāvaṁśa Buddhist missionaries were sent to the areas of Banavāsi and Mysore.

Buddhism appears to have lingered for a period of several centuries in the region of Banavāsi and North Kanara. But more favoured than Banavāsi was the area of Baḷigāmi in the Shimoga District wherein Buddhism flourished longer until the twelfth century. This is attested by the allusions in the inscriptions of the place to the existence of religious institutions of the faith and its followers. For instance, an epigraph herein contains reference to a site called *Pulleya Bayal* and this expression is equated with the famous *Mṛigadāva* or Deer Park.[4] Another epigraph, dated A.D. 1065, records the construction at Baḷigāmi of a Buddhist *Vihāra*, named Jayantī Pra-Bauddha Vihāra, by Danḍanāyaka Rūpabhaṭṭayya, a minister of the Western Chālukya monarch Sōmēśvera I. In this *Vihāra* were installed the images of Buddhist deities, namely, Buddha, Lōkēśvara and Tārā, along with Kēśava and others.[5] The image of Tārā, as disclosed by one more epigraph, was the donation of a lady by name Bappura Nāgiyakka, wife of Nāḍapergaḍe Sahavāsi Hampa-chaṭṭa.[6] This icon of the deity has been lately discovered.

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[1] Lüders' List, Nos. 1052, 1054, 1111, etc.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 7.
[3] Lüders' List, No. 1186.

Proceeding to northern Karnāṭaka, Ḍambaḷ, a village in the Muṇḍargi Pēṭhā of the Dharwar District, arrests our attention as a fairly important seat of Buddhism during the 12th century. Three inscriptions of this place[7] are found to be Buddhist. These furnish valuable information concerning the arrangements made for the worship of Buddhadēva and Ārya Tārādēvī in the *Vihāra* at Dharmavoḷal which is modern Ḍambaḷ. It is gathered from these records that the Buddhist institutions of the place were adequately supported by the well-to-do members of the mercantile community. One of these inscriptions found on a stone near a ruined Jaina temple,[8] commences with an obeisance to Buddha, followed by the following interesting verse in praise of Tārā.

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[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 120. Compare *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, part I (1930), p. 144.

[5] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 170. It is clear in the inscription that the *Vihāra* was built at Baḷigāmi. The expression *Jayantī* forming part of the designation of the *Vihāra* has nothing to do with Banavāsi which was otherwise called Jayantīpura. This confusion is made by the writer in the *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.), pp. 144-45 and 151. Judging from the context Lōkēśvara appears to be a Buddhist deity. He may be identified with Avalōkitēśvara; see B. Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 32. But the author of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.) takes him to be Lōkanātha of Śrīmūlavāsam, p. 150.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 169.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. and *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1927-28, Appendix E, Nos. 65-66.

[8] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. This inscription states that the image of Tārā Bhagavatī was the donation to the Buddhist *Vihāra* at Ḍambaḷ by Saṁgavayya-seṭṭi who hailed from Lokkiguṇḍi which is modern Lakkuṇḍi near Gadag. This has been wrongly construed by the late R. G. Bhandarkar as containing reference to the existence of another Buddhist *Vihāra* at Lakkuṇḍi besides Ḍambaḷ; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 228.

> Hari-kari-śikhi-phaṇi-taskara-nigaḷa-jaḷ-arṇava-
>   piśācha-bhaya-śamani |
>
> Śaśi-kiraṇa-kānti-dhāriṇi bhagavati Tārē namas-
>   tubhyam ||

We may also note the reference in this epigraph to the Buddha Bhikshus residing in the above-noted *Vihāra.* It is apparent that Buddhism prevalent in these parts was of the Mahāyāna school.

The above brief review of Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka may be supplemented by two more outstanding discoveries I have been able to make in recent years. In 1950, in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnāṭak area I secured a Buddhist copper plate record at Hiregutti in the Kumṭa taluk of the North Kanara District. The inscription opens with an invocation to Buddha and registers the gift of a village named Sundarikā, situated in the Dīpaka *vishaya* for the benefit of a *Vihāra* by king Aśaṁkita of the Bhōja family. The epigraph bears no date, but can be assigned approximately to the sixth century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. This is one of the few earliest copper plate documents relating to Buddhism, testifying to the survival of the faith in the western part of Karnāṭaka until the sixth century at least. The family of Aśaṁkita of Bhōja extraction ruling in this tract is brought to light for the first time by the present charter.[9]

While conducting the epigraphical survey of the Hubli taluk of the Dharwar District, I visited Kōḷivāḍ in January 1953. This village is renowned as the birth place of Kumāra Vyāsa, an eminent poet of Karnāṭaka and author of the Karnāṭaka Bhārata, circa 15th century. A good number of antiquities including inscriptions and sculptures has been preserved in this place. The epigraphs range from the 10th to the 16th century, the earliest being a fragment of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga Amōghavarsha IV (A.D. 966 to 972). Among the sculptures deserves to be mentioned the handsome image of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa enshrined in a temple.[10] In the midst of such Brahmânical antiquities it was a pleasant surprise to detect a Buddhist icon bearing an inscription.

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[9] *Ephigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff. We may note in this connection the mention of Śivapura Mahāvihāra in the Goa Copper plate inscription of king Chandravarman; *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181 ff. This Vihāra appears to have been situated in the western coastal area like the Vihāra of the Hiregutti inscription. Palaeographically, the Goa and Hiregutti plates both seem to belong approximately to the same period and it is not unlikely that Chandravarman of the Goa record was a member of the Bhōja chiefs who were ruling in the western parts of Karnāṭaka of the coastal region.

Outside the village of Kōḷivāḍ lies a temple of Śiva known as Kalamēśvara. In the premises of this temple are kept a few inscribed stones and pieces of sculpture which have apparently been brought from different sites and stocked here. One such is a handsome though mutilated idol of a female deity, about three feet in height. The upper part of the image is broken. The icon is artistically shaped having miniature figures of deities carved around the *prabhāvali.* The sculpture is fixed upon an elevated pedestal. The lower part of the sculpture is moulded into a slightly curved belt. On this belt is engraved an inscription.

The epigraph comprises two lines. The script is Nāgarī of about the 13th century A.D. The characters are well formed and neatly engraved. The first two expressions in the beginning are denoted by symbols which call for some observations. The first sign resembles an upturned hook, the curve commencing from the left of the top. This sign is akin to the one found at the beginning on the Assam Plates of Vallabhadēva,[11] Tarpandighi Plates of Lakshmanasēna[12] and seve-

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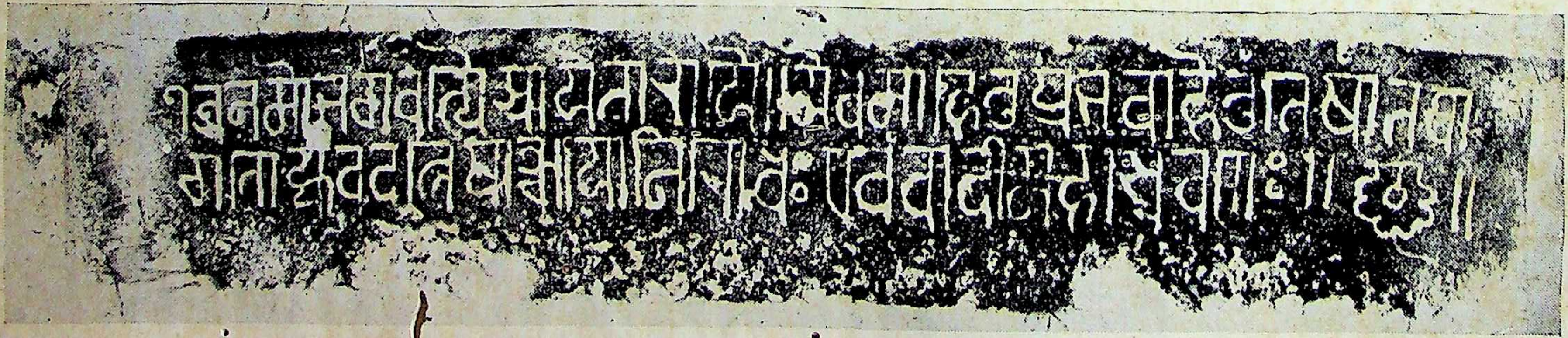
[10] Vīra-Nārāyaṇa is the popular name of the deity. But the iconographical details do [illegible] justify this appellation. A pillar standing in front of the temple bears on it an inscription dated Śaka 1485, Rudhirōdgārin, corresponding to A.D. 1564. The epigraph speaks of a lady named Sūriya Māṇiki as having been presented for doing service in the temple of Mādhavajanārdana by Sūrappayya, the son of *Āneya* Dēvappayya and chief of the *agrahāra* Kōḍivāḍa. The present Vīra-Nārāyaṇa image carries in the right-upper hand the discus and in the right-lower the mace with its lower end touching the ground. The left-upper hand holds the conch and the same lower rests on the waist.

[11] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. V, plate facing p. 182.

[12] *Ibid.,* Vol. XII, plate facing p. 18.

Plate I



Buddhist Inscription on the pedestal of Tārā Image at Kōḷivāḍ, Dharwar District.

ral other records. It may be noted in this connection that a similar sign was in vogue even until modern times in the traditional documents of the eastern parts of India. This is known as *Āṁji*, the precise significance of which term remains uncertain.[13] It is believed that this *Āṁji* sign represents the deity Gaṇēśa, the giver of success. Consequently it is equated with the expression *siddhir-astu* and its abbreviation *siddham* also.[14] Probably in view of its sanctity, a convention seems to have grown that this expression, though pronounced while reading, should not be written except in the form of a symbol. This might be the reason for the introduction of this sign.

Adverting to the second sign, it stands for *ōm*. Its form is rather peculiar, being somewhat different from the usual manner in which *ōm* is written at this period. It is divested of its top mark comprising the crescent and the dot, known as the *chandrabindu*, signifying *ardhānusvāra*. The sign of the present inscription can be compared with the second sign standing for *ōm* in the Amōdā Plates[15] of the Haihaya king Pṛithvīdēva I, Another interesting point in regard to this *ōm* is that it provides an unmistakable instance of the use of the sacred expression in a purely Buddhist record.[16]

As regards the other peculiarities of writing we may note the use of the top *mātrās* as well as the *pṛishṭhamātrās* to denote the medial *ē* and *ō;* for instance, *hē* in *hētu-* and *hētuṁ* in line 1; and *mō* and *tō* in lines 1 and 2. There are no orthographical peculiarities worth noting. The language is Sanskrit. Considering the palaeographical set up of the record noticed above, it appears that the scribe was either a North Indian or one who was conversant with the North Indian mode of writing. The identification of the image proposed in the sequel is in support of this surmise.

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[13] In the Karnāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra parts commencement of writing is referred to as *Ōnāmāsi* which is a corrupt abbreviation of the Sanskrit expression, *Ōṁ namaḥ siddham*. I am not sure if any connection could be traced between *Āṁji* and *Ōnāmāsi*.

[14] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

[15] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 78. Noteworthy is the absence of the *chandrabindu* on the letter *Ōm* of this document.

[16] Contrast *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 333, n. 8.

The epigraph commences with an obeisance to the divine Ārya-Tārādēvī. This must evidently refer to the image itself representing the deity. This is followed by the well-known Buddhist verse, *yē dharmāḥ* etc. With the end of this verse the inscription is at an end. The text of the epigraph is as follows.

1. Siddham [| *] Ōṁ namō Bhagavatyai Ārya-Tārāyai ||
   Yē dha[r]mā hētu-prabhavā hētuṁ tēshāṁ Tathā-

2. gatō hy = avadat = tē (dat [| *] tē) shāñ-cha yō
   nirōdhaḥ ēvaṁ-vādī Mahāsra (śra) va (ma) ṇaḥ ||

This inscription makes it clear that the fragmentary sculpture is the image of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. It was reported that the icon was originally lying on a site near the above-mentioned temple of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa in the interior of the village.[17] Judging from this and also the big size and dignified appearance of the idol, we can surmise that there existed in this village, about the period of the 13th century, a Buddhist shrine dedicated to Tārā, wherein the present image was installed and worshipped by the Buddhist followers whose number should have been considerable. It is revealed from the Buddhist antiquities at Baḷigāmi and Ḍambaḷ, noticed above, that the shrines of Tārā in these parts were associated with the Buddhist *Vihāras*. Likewise it is just possible that the Tārā shrine at Kōḷivāḍ also was attached to a Buddhist *Vihāra*. In regard to the verse, *yē dharmāḥ* etc., inscribed on the Tārā image, we might observe that it occurs here for the first time in association with a Buddhist image in Karnāṭaka, although its frequency in the Buddhist antiquities of North India is well known.

In the course of the foregoing review of the Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka, we have noticed three images of Tārā, all of which belong approximately to the same period, namely, the 12th and the 13th century A.D. Of these we know almost nil about the one at Ḍambaḷ except for the incidental allusion in the description

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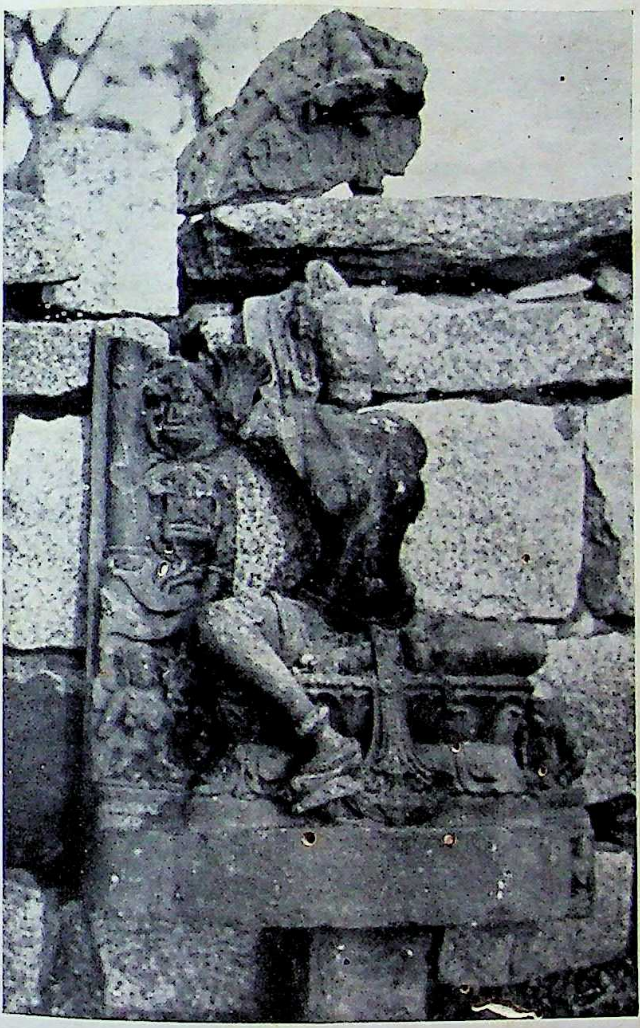
[17] When I first saw the image it was in a mutilated condition. Its head, canopy and other parts were missing. Some of the fragments however were subsequently traced nearby. The idol, I was told, was in tact until a few years ago. It was lately subjected to breakage by the innocently mischievous urchins of the village while at play.

Plate II



Mutilated Image of Tārā at Kōḷivāḍ, Dharwar District

of the sculptures[18] carved on the inscribed slab. The real image, however, must apparently have been different from this, and it has never been traced. The image of Tārā at Baḷigāmi has been discovered. Though partially broken, its extant portion presents itself as an exquisite specimen of Buddhist art in Karnāṭaka.[19] This image bears no inscription. The Tārā image at Kōḷivāḍ stands out, in spite of its mutilated condition, as a piece of superior craftsmanship. In fineness and wealth of details, it compares with the Baḷigāmi image. The Kōḷivāḍ icon is modelled like the Khadiravanī or Dhanada Tārā, whose specimens are found in North India. In his *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* B. Bhattacharya has described various kinds of Tārā images prevalent in North India, and in this connection we may note with particular interest the description and illustration of Khadiravanī and Dhanada Tārās on pages 106-107 and plate XXXII. As explained on page 107 of the book and as seen in the figure (e) of the plate, the broken *prabhā* of the Tārā icon at Kōḷivāḍ might have contained eight miniature figures of the same deity only two of which are now preserved in its broken portion. These eight figures are believed to represent the eight syllables of the Tārā *mantra.*

It is unfortunate to observe that no traces of the Buddhist *Vihāras* or shrines are now left in any of the three places noticed above or elsewhere in Karnāṭaka. This might be due partly to the aggressive activities of the leaders of the Śaivite movement in the latter half of the 12th century. The latter part of this statement is supported by a few epigraphical referernces. The famous Ablūr inscription contains a hint indicating that the Śaivite upheaval, one of the militant leaders of which was Ēkāntada Rāmayya, was directed against the Buddhists also,[20] as well as against the Jainas. An inscription at Tāḷikōṭi in the Bijāpur District, dated A.D. 1184, extols the achievements of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Virūparasa who is described as having earned the approbation of Śaiva devotees by his violent activities against the followers of rival faiths, including the Buddhists.[21]

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[18] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 185.

[19] For a detailed description of the image see *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.), pp. 146 ff. A rough sketch of the same is reproduced in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Introduction; plate facing p. 20.

[20] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 255.

I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India, for his kind permission to publish in this article the text of the Buddhist inscription from Kōḷivāḍ and to illustrate it with the photograph of the original impression. My thanks are due to Sri. R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar, for his kindness in sending a photo print of the Tārā image at Kōḷivāḍ for my study and illustration herein.

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[21] Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 63 of 1929-30. Only a summary of this record is published in the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year, Appendix E. I have utilised here the text of the inscription, which though unpublished, was available to me being a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Reviews

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI (Second Edition, Revised and enlarged) by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava—Published by S. L. Agarwala & Co., Agra, 1953, Pages XV—430.

The second edition (Revised and enlarged) of 'The Sultanate of Delhi' by Dr. A. L. Srivastava is a more handy volume than its first edition though its get up is not so good. The author has attempted to give a well studied account in a short compass of all the salient features of the various dynasties beginning with the sultans of Ghazni and ending with the Lodis teeming with eminent soldiers and statesmen who materially changed the traditional tenor of India's past.

The author claims to have carefully revised the book and made a few additions. In his preface he makes the enigmatic statement: 'Thanks to Mr. K. M. Munshi's enquiry, the riddle of Nasir-ud-din Khusrav Shah's origin, which baffled all previous writers, has been successfully solved by the author and is being given in this book for the first time.' There is no further explanation of this in the book, and the present account hardly differs from that in the first edition. 'A few mistakes of dates and facts have been corrected and the chronology of the Delhi Sultans, genealogical tables of the ruling dynasties and some illustrations of the period have been added.' (v).

Further, the author criticises with some warmth Prof. Habib and other writers who assert that the Muslim rule was not foreign rule and that the Muslim rulers of the period had no 'home Government' outside India, and extenuate Muslim religious policy otherwise. In answer to the views of these scholars, Dr. A. L. Srivastava lays it down in unambiguous words that the rulers of the Sultanate period were foreigners and recognised the foreign Khalifa to be their sovereign, and the Sultanate as a mere dependency of the Caliphate. They sent cash and presents of enormous value to the Khalifa and large sums of money to be spent in Mecca and Medina and other places sacred to Islam. True they had made India their home, but their aim was to convert it into an Islamic country. The personnel of their Government was foreign; the religion and culture which they wanted to impose on India was foreign; their system of Government and their way of life were foreign. They looked to Arabia and Central Asia for inspiration. They had little sympathy with the religion, culture, tradition, and way of life of the people of this country which they held in military occupation.' (vi).

The main contribution of Prof. Srivastava is to be found in the stress he lays rightly on those forces, trends and factors which modified Indian Political and Cultural Institutions. He treats the various events as integral factors in the general trends and movements. This book marks a decided advance on Stanley-Lane Poole's 'Mediaeval India' which appeared nearly half a century ago, and takes full account of the historical research that has made great progress in all its branches. The author's lucid discussion of the nature of the Islamic state in the concluding chapters XVI to XVIII is of great value. The Sultanate was a theocracy and not a secular state. It did not recognise any other religion than its own, although the overwhelming majority of its population was non-Muslim. The ruling family and dominating ruling class were the followers of this religion and all the resources of the state were employed for the protection and propagation of the Muslim religion. The bitter antagonism of the two cultures lasted for so many centuries and resulted finally in the creation of Pakistan. The background of this consummation is pithily illustrated in the Sultanate of Delhi. The attempts at reform and *rapprochement* on either side cannot be held to have succeeded.

Brief notes on the principal authorities are given at the end of the book and each chapter is followed by books and authorities for special reading. But the volume suffers from poor paper and printing and the maps and illustrations leave much to be desired. There is no index.

K. A. Neelakanta Sastri.

RELIGIONS OF ANCIENT INDIA by Louis Renou (University of London, The Athlone Press—1953—Pages X—139, 15sh. net).

This elegant booklet, the first of the series of Jordan lectures in Comparative Religion (London School of Oriental and African Studies) will be welcomed by all students of Indian Culture and

Religion. The lecturer is the distinguished French Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Literature at the Sorbonne, very well known for his eminent contributions to Indology—in particular to Vedic studies.

Of the six lectures comprising this course, the first two deal with Vedism, the next three with Hinduism and the last with Jainism. The Professor explains that his intention in these lectures, "was to give an account of present state of the main problems", "as an essential preliminary to new advances." He adds, 'I have tried to advance moderate, and, as I hope, reasonable views.' There is no shadow of doubt that the learned lecturer has achieved notable success in his endeavour and provided his readers with the studied and considererd reflections of a well stocked mind on many important aspects of the history of Indian Religions. Prof. Renou indeed certifies that the English rendering of his "not particularly easy" French text is both, "clear and accurate"; but in commenting on his pithy remarks the reviewer is not forgetful of the fact that he has not got before him the original expressions of the author.

Prof. Renou begins by observing that "a sense of frustration pervades the present state of vedic studies" (1-2)—due to the failure so far to establish a definite chronology and to the general disappointment at our inability to draw as much light on the veda as was hoped when the first discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjodaro came to light. He observes, rightly as it seems, "It is idle to try to explain the war of the Ten Kings as a clash between the people of the Indus and the Aryan invaders, or to connect the name 'Harappa' with the river or region called Hariyūpīyā (3-4). More doubtful is his suggestion that, "we cannot explain the literary diversity of vedism except by postulating" all 'Ur-veda' which, "cannot be re-constructed with certainty from the texts in our possession" (5); on a par with this pining for the Ụr-veda are the time of, "a small domestic saṁhitā" and of the "vedicization of postulates which he adumbrates at page 40 on the existence at one private ritual." But the last hypothesis is accompanied by the more cautious statement; "But we cannot come to any definite decision on such problems when we are dealing with an evolutionary process of which we know only the most recent stages."

On the place of the Rg-veda in religious history, Prof. Renou has some very telling observations: "The Rg-Veda is much more than an adjunct to ritual. It might be called a literary anthology drawn from the family traditions" (10). The early cult is not easy to reconstruct as the hymns treat in detail only of the soma ceremonies. "Animal sacrifices, for example, are barely touched upon" (11).

Prof. Renou is not inclined to attach any undue importance to non-Aryan or Pre-Aryan elements in vedic mythology. He says; "The fact remains that the representations of the divine in the Veda form an impressive and unified whole, even though occasional elements are borrowed just as a great writer uses words from many sources. The synthesis is a new systemic creation which owes little to what it has inherited or borrowed" (13).

Prof. Renou cautiously avoids committing himself to any of the numerous theories put forward to account for the nature of vedic mythology. He says, "The great multi-valency and indefiniteness of vedic legend suggest all kinds of associations to the mind which when formulated prove insubstantial" (15). It is no surprise after this to hear from Prof. Renou, "It would never be my intention to try to find a single key to the interpretation of the veda" (18) and further, "India has never believed unreservedly in her own fictions" (20). In such a climate it is not also surprising that Aurobindo's attempt at reviving the "psychical explanation" evokes the cold remark that under its impact the Veda not only "ceases to be a barbarous and unintelligible hymnary" as it is claimed, but, "it also ceases to be a document of pre-history and becomes a manual of modern theosophy" (17).

Vedic religion "is first and foremost a liturgy and only secondarily a mythological or speculative system" (29). "In those distant days India had a feeling for liturgy comparable to that of the Roman Church" (35).

There is little eschatology in the veda, and in the upanisads, "*Karman* is used in the sense of a good or bad action on the moral plane; but it is never used for the present effect of a past action or the foreseeable consequence of an action performed in the present" (28).

The lectures on Hinduism and Jainism are equally stimulating but do not call for a very detailed notice in this review. They must be read in the original to be properly appreciated. It is worth noting, however, that Prof. Renou thinks that the Jainas, "have falsified historical facts in their eagerness to convert princes and high dignitaries" and discounts the story of Chandragupta Maurya ending his life as a Jaina ascetic in Mysore (124).

As examples of some of the fine appreciations and statements teeming in these lectures, the following may be cited. "The prose style of the *Śatapatha* is a model of skilful articulation, and in its severe purity reminds us of Plato" (45). "In India everything is in one sense older, and in another sense of more recent origin than is generally supposed" (46). "It has been constantly asserted that India is obsessed with religion. It might be equally well maintained that India takes no cognizance of religion at least as an independent phenomenon" (48). "Religious literature in India is a literature of reformation. We never see the first stages or the foundations of a movement. It is a literature of an anonymous and apocryphal nature" (50). Of the *Bhagavad Gītā,* we learn: "This composite text, taken from the Great Epic, expounds several teachings simultaneously" (51). "Other religions select and eliminate; Hinduism incorporates" (53). "For many Hindus it would be quite legitimate to take Jesus as *iṣṭadevata,* without even regarding Him as an *avatāra* so long as Indian tradition was acknowledged" (56). "India has contributed much more to religion than she has received from others" (54). "Hinduism, too, was a missionary religion; at a very early date a Hinduist movement took root in the Hellenistic world and penetrated as far as Egypt" (55). "It is hardly likely that India had to await Greek impulsion" for her religious iconography (59). "The Islamic hypothesis is unnecessary" to account for the rise of bhakti (71). The word *'pūjā'* is, "not yet fully explained" (80). "No renaissance of Hinduism was possible because it never died out, or even diminished in strength" (101). Attention may be invited finally to the sententious estimate of the position and prospects of Hinduism amidst the troubles of the present age. It is given in the last paragraph of the fifth lecture (110) too long for quotation here.

The reader may be interested in Renou's estimates of Radhakrishnan and Aurobindo. "Radhakrishnan eradicates from Indian forms all features that are peculiar to them, and builds them up into a symbolism that can be adapted to any form of religion. Aurobindo preaches a new syncretism based on a re-interpretation of the religious manifestations, from the Veda to Tantrism; the key to the future progress of humanity, he says, lies in India's past" (106-7).

This review may be concluded with references to some minor matters of a rather doubtful nature. "It is curious that magic, like private cult-practice, finds its way into the public ceremonial" (41). But is not an element of magic inherent in vedic sacrifice *ab initio?* But Prof. Renou, it should be noted, takes care to add; "It is difficult to sum up the general impression that the Veda makes on us" (42). "India in her exhaustion has often taken refuge in *ahimsā* and the vedantic scale of values" (44). One would not have expected a scholar of M. Renou's deep understanding to commit himself to this superficial estimate worthy of a soldier or a missionary. India's *ahimsā* has always been a sign of strength and vedantic values have been equally so. Some false ideas die hard, and it is the ghost of Pargiter that inspires the statement that, "the task" of the *Mahābhārata,* "is to focus attention on a certain type of man, the *kṣatriya*" (49). The Great Epic is the Fifth Veda and claims to hold the mirror to the whole of life; *yad ihāsti tad anyatra, yan nehāsti na kutracit.* "The *Artha sāstra* of Kautilya, an essentially secular politico-economic treatise, passes for an inspired text" (50); it would not be easy to produce warrant for this statement. "No Philosopher attacks orthodox mythology, as did Plato; much less the common beliefs as did Socrates" (52). The Indian way may not be the Greek way, but Indian literature does not lack numerous examples of what is denied here by Prof Renou.

Prof. Renou writes, "Kṛṣṇaite *bhakti* is erotic. It is the *bhakti* of a concubine; religious beatitude comes to be conceived as a sort of carnal intercourse with the god in the idyllic setting of *Vrandāvana*" (72). Notwithstanding the apparent evidence of some *bhakti* literature like the *Gīta-Govinda,* it may be doubted if this is a correct appreciation of the true position of that religious sect. M. Renou speaks of the difficulty of reconciling the Karma theory with human liberty (77) and says that Hinduism never faced this problem systematically. This is not the opinion of eminent Indian scholars like the late Prof. M. Hiriyanna who devoted a part of his writings to the exposition of the correct view of this question. It may be doubted if the self-immolation of the *satī* is, "in part of a survival of the old *puruṣa medha* or human sacrifice" (80). Intermarriage between the two Śrīvaiṣṇava schools Tengalai and Vaḍagalai is not unknown as the author seems to have gathered (96).

"After the decline of Vedism, the official religion was at first Buddhism, under the Mauryas" (100). The Indian State never had an official religion. The kings had the duty, and observed it, of extending their protection and patronage to all religions alike, though naturally they preferred in their personal patronage the faith which they professed. Aśoka's rock Edict XII is a standing refutation of Prof. Renou's statement. At page 121 the Gangas of Mysore deserved to be mentioned along with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as patrons of Jainism. The confession of sin in the morning and in the evening is not an exclusive feature of Jainism (128), but is a matter of daily ritual with all Hindus who perform their *sandhyā* prayers. At page 64, line 3 from the bottom "Venkateśa and Tirupati" should read "Venkatesa of Tirupati."

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT INDIAN LAW by N. C. Sengupta.

(Sen Gupta trust, p. 93, Manohar Pukar Road, Calcutta; 1953; Pages vi—348—Rs. 17-8-0.)

This book embodies the matter of the substance of twelve lectures delivered in April 1952 by the author, as Tagore, Law Professor of Calcutta University. Already well known as the author of several works, like "Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India", "Evolution of Law" and 'Prathavidhana', he presents the results of a study extending over forty years and modestly states that he has not covered 'more than a small fraction of the field'. But being already a septuagenarian he decided to publish before it was too late such results as he had attained. "The evolution of Ancient Indian Law", according to Mr. Sengupta, "has not been a simple development from within of a single culture viz. the Aryan, but has at all stages been influenced by various cultures." He adds, "that positive Law emerges in time with the assumption of judicial authority by the king and grows with the expansion of King's Justice" (vi) and he hopes that these views "will stand the test of closer examination."

The work is divided into fourteen chapters and deals with the evolution of Law from the earliest traceable times to the days of the latest Dharma Sastras. The introductory chapter comprises five different heads namely, 'The sources', 'Social background of Ancient Indian Law', 'Stages of Law', 'Sequence of Source Books' and 'Evolution of Ancient Indian Society.'

The next two chapters (2 and 3) trace the rise of king's Justice which slowly takes the place of family, gentile or village communities and guilds in pre-jural society, and with the association of professional jurists in the administration of Justice and its important consequences including the growth of law of evidence. Chapters 4 to 9 are devoted to topics of family law including marriage, kinship, and Law of inheritance. Chapters 10 to 13 headed 'Topics of Litigation' deal with the development of positive Law in Ancient India, that is, Law as developed in Codes and enforced by the kings. The author observes that, "The enumeration of topics in the different codes is of great historical value. As we have seen, the list grows from very small beginnings to more and more elaborate catalogues. This development is an index of the development of the king's Justice in Ancient Indian Law" (227).

The enforcement of Law, such as it was, vested at first in the community. It is only later that the king becomes a dispenser of Justice, first with the help of a learned priest and later through professional tribunals called *sabhas*. In the earlier stages, the king decided only such offences as were considered by people of the age to be grave transgressions of socio-religious conventions. Civil disputes such as debts and deposits were settled by popular bodies known as Srenis. But at no time did the king attempt to exercise legislative authority. A careful survey of Dharma Śastras shows a notable progress from the undeveloped laws of a simple society to a very complex system growing in continuous response to changing needs. This development of early law is brought about under three different heads:

(1) There was the natural development with the increasing complexities of social relations and logical extension of principles.

(2) There was the extension of the King's jurisdiction to matters which were originally matters for domestic or guild tribunals.

(3) The Laws also developed by infiltration of customs and usages of alien society either due to adoption or adaptation by the Aryans of foreign customs or after they entered Indo-Aryan Society (333).

Instances of the absorption of alien laws, customs and usages can best be traced in the sphere of family law. The author mentions such instances in chapters 4 to 9.

On the whole, these lectures constitute, indeed, an earnest attempt to study early Hindu Law from the point of view of its evolution.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA by W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chaterjee: 3rd Edition, Revised and enlarged; 1953. (Orient Longmans Ltd., Mount Road, Madras) pages XI—580—Rs. 12.

Moreland and Chaterjee's "A Short History of India" has been recognised as a standard work from the time of its first edition in 1936 and has become very popular amongst students and general readers. This book, which lays a special stress on administrative and economic developments, was revised for the second edition in 1944 by Mr. Chaterjee alone, owing to the death of Moreland in 1938. Mr. Chaterjee has once again revised and enlarged the volume for the third edition with the aid of his friend Sir John Walton. The revision has been ably done and latest researches have been incorporated. The complicated events of the period between 1943 and '47 are dealt with in a very clear and lucid manner in two new chapters. The dynastic history of North India till the advent of the British, interspersed with notices of cultural condition of the land, is fairly full and satisfactory, while the history of the Deccan and South India has been comparatively neglected.

Chapter XIX deals with Greater India. In the concluding chapter, it is remarked that, "the transfer of power dimly foreseen by Elphinstone, was the fruition of a policy consciously pursued for thirty years since the Montagu announcement of August 20th, 1917; but the roots of that policy stretch back to an earlier epoch in the history of British India" (564-5).

A clear and unbiased account is given of the complicated negotiations between the British Government and the different political parties in India, and the final settlement of the momentous questions that were involved. Particular mention should be made of the series of eleven carefully designed maps and the good index which are of greatest assistance in following the narrative. The volume has been neatly and attractively got up.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MINT-TOWNS OF THE MOGHUL EMPERORS OF INDIA: compiled by C. R. Singhal Memoir No. 4 of the Numismatic Society of India, 1953, pages iv—51 (Prince of Wales Museum), Bombay.

Students of Indo-Moghul numismatics will welcome this handy and up-to-date list of mint towns arranged according to reigns and in English alphabetical order indicating the details of the gold, silver and copper issues of each reign and mint. The new mints included for the first time in this list have been commented on in brief notes with detailed references and these notes cover the first thirty-two pages of the booklet. There is also given at the end a comparative table of dates in the Hijra and the Christian Eras. Mr. Singhal and the Society deserve to be congratulated on this compact addition to the bibliography of Indian numismatics.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MEDIAEVAL KERALA by P. K. S. Raja, M.A., M.Litt., Lecturer in History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Published by the Annamalai University, 1953, pp. xii and 293.

The book under review though covering mostly trodden ground is yet a welcome addition to the literature on the subject as the author has presented all the known facts of the history of the Kerala country in a short and single compass. It traverses a wide ground in the 14 chapters that it contains, and several topics of varying interest and importance are dealt with like the problem of Cheraman Perumal, the Kollam era, the history of the Zamorins of Calicut, the part played by Malik Kafur in the politics of the extreme south of the peninsula, the political geography of Malabar in the 15th century, the fortunes of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the West Coast, the course and decline of feudalism in Travancore and Cochin and the social life and administration in Kerala in the middle ages. The author's stand and conclusions on some of the above subjects is however antiquated. For instance his conclusions regarding the part Malik Kafur played in the politics of the South represent older views on the matter on which further light has been thrown by recent studies in the subject. In a fairly good part of the book dealing with the history of the Portuguese and the Dutch on the West coast a detailed and critical treatment of the religious activities of the Portuguese and their effects on the social history of Kerala would have been welcome. There is a select bibliography and a general index to the book. The author could have provided a map to illustrate the political divisions of Kerala in the 15th century. The errata list at the end is selective rather than full and exhaustive.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

STUDIES ON KRISHNADEVARAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR by Ramachandraiah Oruganti (Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair: 1953, Pages 209, Rs. 5/-).

In this short piece of historical research, Dr. Ramachandraiah has attempted a systematic review and estimate of the illustrious reign of Krishnadeva Raya gathered from contemporary Inscriptions and Literature, and though every reader of the book may not accept all the interpretations offered here, none can fail to recognise the general value of the work. These studies start with the rise of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka to power as the regent of the empire and take us to the end of Krishnadeva Raya's reign. The author has taken care to include all the relevant political events, so that the reign of Krishna Raya is presented fairly completely and in its chronological sequence.

The booklet is divided into twelve chapters. Chapters 1 to 3 deal with the rise of Saluva Narasimha and Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. It is suggested that Saluva Narasimha must have passed away in A.D. 1491. "Narasa Nayaka was neither a regicide nor a usurper but a strong disciplinarian. He retained all power but seized not the throne. He took no royal titles, for he took no crown but contented himself with governing the empire of Vijayanagara. He died at least a year and a half earlier than Immadi Narasimha" (34). The remaining eight chapters present the main political events of Krishnadeva Raya's reign. It is suggested that Krishnadeva Raya must have been in the last quarter of 1486 or the first quarter of A.D. 1487 (42). Krishnadeva Raya was at war with Orissa soon after his succession to the throne in 1509, hence his title of 'a fever to the elephants of the Gajapatis' mentioned in the Hampe Inscription of 1510. The embassy of Friar Luis and the behaviour of Krishna Raya towards him are well discussed. The other problems considered in the booklet are: The death of Yusuf Adil Shah ; inception of Amuktamalyada; the identification of Rachol with Raichur; the date of the battle of Raichur (1522 not 20) and the failure of Krishnadeva Raya towards the close of his reign against Bijapur, resulting in the loss of Raichur. There is a good bibliography but no index. In attempting in this little book to make some contribution towards the correct understanding of the life of Krishna Raya, Dr. Ramachandraiah has undertaken and accomplished a difficult and necessary task.

H. S. RAMANNA.

STUDIES IN PROTO-INDO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE, Vol. I: By the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Published by the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1953, Price Rs. 175-0-0.

This important and impressive book is the ripened fruit of many years of assiduous and devoted study of the Indus Valley Civilization by the Rev. H. Heras. The author's purpose in writing this volume which will soon be followed by others is to "elucidate some of the most fascinating problems that the excavations of the Indus Valley Cities have created, the first one being the system of deciphering the inscriptions and the historical foundations of the first migrations westwards." If the author's views are generally accepted, India will have the glory of being acclaimed as the cradle of human civilization.

In the introduction the author has tried to prove on the basis of the views of eminent scholars like Sir John Marshall, Dr. Wust, and Dr. Betty Heimann that the Mohenjo-Darians were not only non-Aryan but definitely Dravidians. Practically the whole of India was inhabited by Dravidians who were highly civilized and had covered the country with a net-work of strongly centralized and well established governments. They were also great traders who made India a great exporting country. The village communities which have flourished in India from time immemorial were founded by them. In general the culture of India is not Aryan in origin, but Dravidian. It was by contact with the great Dravidian settlers that the Aryans who entered India became civilized. The number of Aryan invaders was small and from the very beginning there was intermingling of the races. The Punjabis and Kashmiris are probably much purer Dravidians racially considered than the Tamilians and Malayalees of South India while the Indo-Aryas if any are to be found only in Uttar Pradesh and Pepsu. Although the Aryas were transformed into a mixed race predominantly Dravidian, their language held sway in Northern India. Nevertheless. Sanskrit was greatly influenced by the Dravidian language. Similarly in the south where the old languages survived, they were profoundly influenced by the speech of the Aryan as naturalised in India. The mutual influence of Dravidian over Aryan and of Aryan over Dravidian cannot be denied.

The Dravidian speaking people in the North learnt Sanskrit or the corresponding Prakrit and the modern North Indian vernaculars Aryan in origin but greatly influenced by Dravidian speech, emerged. The Dravidians, after a long period of development in India travelled westwards reaching even remote Ireland and spread their race known as Mediterranean. These enterprising pioneers established themselves in two continents and became the founders of the modern world civilization. The author is confident that ample evidence of the momentous part played by the Dravidians as the originators of the modern world civilization can be adduced.

In the first chapter, the author tackles the problem of the Mohenjo-Daro script. Before he discloses his system of deciphering the inscriptions of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappā and Chanhu-Daro the author examines the systems of decipherment suggested by Waddell, Langdon, Gadd, Pran Nath, Flinders Petrie, De Hevesy, Hunter, Meriggi, Swami Sankarananda, Barua, Karmarkar and Hrozny. The systems of interpretation worked out by these scholars are found to be faulty in their essential bearings and even details. Before the author commences the work of deciphering the signs, he formulates some salient principles as the basis of his study of the inscriptions. The most important of these are that the remains of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā are certainly non-Aryan and are most likely Dravidian; that the Dravidians are a branch of the Mediterranean race ; that the people of Mohenjo-Daro spoke a Proto-Dravidian language in a state of infancy with its grammar totally undeveloped : that the script is picto-phonographic ; and that signs do not stand for syllables and much less for consonant sounds only, but express full words.

In the process of deciphering the signs, the author finds that the script was not standardized although it had passed through a long period of development. Since this script was natural and easy, it was readily adopted by the Aryas. In this way, the Proto-Indian script became the parent of the Brāhmi script. The author's efforts to decipher the Mohenjo-Daro script deserve unstinted praise. He admits that he may have committed mistakes, but his system of interpretation can generally be regarded as free from most of the blemishes found in others.

The author has rightly pointed out that while the Brāhmi script is descended from the Mohenjo-Daro script the two cannot be identified. Proto-Dravidian is the parent of Dravidian from which have sprung a number of languages like Brāhmi, old Singalese, Tulu, Sangam Tamil, San Tamil, Pūrvada Kannada and Hale Kannada. Modern Tamil and Malayalam are descended from Sangam Tamil through San Tamil. Similarly, modern Telugu and Kannada and Kudagu can be traced to Pūrvada Kannada through Hale Kannada. Therefore, the progenitor of modern Tamil and Malayalam is the Proto-Dravidian language of the Indus valley.

It was no easy task for the author to interpret the signs. He proceeded on the assumption that the signs naturally represented the objects to which they referred in a graphic way. The most common sign found generally at the end of the inscriptions was the first to be deciphered. It appeared to stand for the suffix of the genitive, *adu* because some seals at least must have been the property of private persons. This sign alone was deciphered independently of any inscription. Other signs were studied and interpreted as they appeared in the various inscriptions beginning from the shortest. Sometimes it was found necessary to change the meaning of an individual sign fixed after long consideration particularly when it was found to have been used phonetically. "The ordinary routine in our work of decipherment", says the author, "was this. Once the meaning of a sign was finally settled, according to the nature of the sign . . . . . . , I studied all the words used in all modern languages, not excluding Tulu, Brāhui, Kudagu, Urāon and Kūi. When these words were gathered, the most ancient word was selected, sometimes the root only, and deprived of all suffixes and initial consonants to obtain the probable word used by the Mohenjo-Darians. The probability finally became a certainty by the wonderful and unexpected result . . . . . ." After deciphering all the inscriptions the author sought the help of the late Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, the great Dravidian philologist for revising his interpretations. "What was my surprise, when while reading my interpretations of the inscriptions, Fr. Gnana Prakasar found that about twenty-five of them were fragments of poetry. These are written in different metres; five of them bring in the famous *Kural* metre, the most beautiful metre of Tamil Literature."

In the second chapter the author deals with the probable affinities between the Mohanjo-Darians and the Sumerians. There are many striking similarities and parallelisms between the two civilizations. There is the resemblance between the two scripts, and also between the Dravidian languages and the Sumerian tongue.

But the Mohenjo-Daro script appears to have been older than the Sumerian. The latter was a development of the former. The Indus valley civilization is far older than the Sumerian civilization. The devotion of the Sumerians to the Mountain of the East points to India as their original home. The author has no doubt that both the people of Sumer and the Dravidian people of the Indus valley belonged to the same race. Indeed the people of Sumer came from India and the Sumerian civilization was only an offshoot of the Indus valley culture. Dr. Crowley strongly supports the author's hypothesis that the civilizing movement was from the Indus to the Euphrates. This conclusion is supported by evidence drawn from a study of inscriptions, and archaeological, anthropological, ethnological and other data.

The Minoan civilization of Crete, just like the Sumerian civilization was only an offshoot of the Indus valley culture. The paintings adorning the palace of Minos showing bull fights connect Mohenjo-Daro and Spain. "The migration of the Mediterranean race to which the Proto-Dravidians of India belonged," says the author, "seems therefore not to have been from the west to east but from east to west following the chain of *dolmens* and megaliths which commences in Ceylon continues in the mountains and plains of Southern India, and in the plains of the Karnātaka and the plateau of Maharashtra up to Kashmir, passes to Syria, Cyprus, Malta and Egypt, extends along the northern coast of Africa, reaches southern Italy, crosses to Spain jumps over the Pyrenees to south western France and Brittany, reaches Germany, bridges the channel to enter England and Scotland and finds its end in Ireland."

The third chapter is devoted to the study of the Hamitic migrations into Egypt. There is very close racial relationship between the worshippers of Ān of India, the Proto-Indian people and those who worshipped. Ānu in Egypt. The same Ān worshipped in both India and Egypt was identified with the Sun. The author is fully convinced that the people of both countries belonged to the Proto-Dravidian Hamatic race. He has marshalled a mass of evidence derived from various sources to support his thesis.

As a stepping stone to enter Egypt, the Prot-Dravidians founded a colony in the South-western corner of Arabia. This is not a mere surmise, but a fact founded on circumstantial evidence. It appears that there were two migrations of Proto-Dravidians to

Egypt one from Sumer, after they had long settled there, and the other straight from India with a stop at the Dravidian colony of South-western Arabia. In an appendix the author throws light on some interesting points of contact between the Indian and Egyptian civilizations to show the great similarity between the two ancient peoples.

In the fourth chapter the author deals with the great Fish of the Flood, the Indian Flood story, the Feast of the Fish celebrated in Madurai every year and the story of the Flood in Sumer, Egypt and Crete. The Flood story of Genesis is regarded as a variant of the Sumerian Deluge epic. The story of the Flood was brought to Sumer by settlers from India, but it took deep roots in the new land only at a later period.

In the last chapter, the author describes the migrations of the Dravidians to foreign lands and considers their racial relations. The Proto-Dravidians from India who belonged to the Hamitic Mediterranean race, settled in Sumer, as has already been observed, where they came to be known as Sumerians, and in Syria where they laid the foundations of the great *Hittite Empire.* They proceeded forward and reached the Mediterranean shores where they were called Phoenicians from the name of their own tribe, the Panis. The more enterprising among the emigrants pushed forward and settled in the islands and the main-land of Greece and in the Italian peninsula, where they were respectively known as Minoans, Minyoans and Etruscans. Other Dravidian tribes followed in the footsteps of their predecessors and colonized the Yemen where they laid the foundation of the city of Eudaemon the modern Aden. They were enterprising traders and Strabo called them Minaeans. They crossed the Red sea, took possession of Egypt and founded the great Egyptian civilization. The migrations of the Dravidians were continued until they had reached and colonized the Northern coast of Africa where they were known as *Garamantes, Libyans Numidians* and *Bereberians* and Spain where the Romans met them and called them *Iberians.* The more adventurous among these Iberians went northwards and settled in central Europe and even in the British Isles. These ancient people who founded the great civilization of ancient times belonged to the Hamitic Mediterranean race. The different civilizations springing from the same root may be called the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean civilizations and their place of origin was India. This is a thrilling story of adventure and migrations and of the growth of a plethora of civilizations, springing from the Proto-Dravidian root. It is not, however, easy to answer the question whether the author has achieved success in supporting his views with undisputed and authentic evidence. There is no doubt that he has drawn and furnished evidence from various sources, anthropological, archaeological, ethnological, literary and religious.

In an appendix, the author tries to discover the original name of the Proto-Indo-Mediterraneans. The word Dravida found in Sanskrit is not Aryan in origin. The pre-Aryan people of India were called Dasa or Dasyu by the newcomers, but at a later period it was changed to Drāvidas. The real name of the early settlers was however *Dramila* which is still found in the inscriptions of the eighth century. But the word *Dramila* itself appears to have been a corruption of *Tiramilar* which means children of the sea. This was later transformed into *Tamiliar* in India, Termilai in Greece, *Draganes* in Spain and *Dravidae* in France and British Isles. Similarly the Etruscans were called Tyrrenians meaning " those of the sea " like the Greek denomination *Termilai.* In this connection, the author points out that the ocean of the south-west of Italy down to Sicly continues to be known as " Tyrrenian Sea ". There is frequent mention in the Nilotic records of "the people of the Sea " of whom the Egyptians of the Delta were terribly afraid. These " people of the Sea " were the ancestors of the classical people of Greece and Asia Minor.

This weighty volume is a land-mark in historical endeavour. It is a monumental effort in painstaking research. No doubt, some basic conclusions of the author are such as to challenge disagreement. Nevertheless, it is an outstanding achievement which is sure to create an intellectual stir in historical circles not only in India but throughout the world.

The book is well printed on superior art paper and contains a large number of well-chosen illustrations. It is also furnished with a comprehensive bibliographical introduction and a good index.

K. P. Pillay

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Sea and Land Trade Routes in India as Revealed in the Buddhist Literature

BY

SRI VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A.,
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

There are so many evidences to prove that people in ancient India were very keen about their maritime activities and they used to sail on their ships even to far distant lands. These people did not go to far off countries for the commercial purposes only but also for founding colonies and propagating ancient Indian culture.

The earliest reference of the sea-trade as well as of the naval operations can be traced to the Ṛigveda. It is because of this that commercial life was developed even during the Vedic Period. The merchants known as the Pāṇis[1] in the Ṛigveda were in a flourishing condition. They transacted trade with other countries. References to sea voyages also in the Ṛigveda indicate that people were very keen about trade with distant lands. Mention is made there of the knowledge of the sea-routes,[2] of sea trades,[3] and of naval expeditions.[4] Huge ships accommodating large commercial things are also mentioned. For other references found in the Vedic literature, it may be assumed that the practice of sea-trade was continued even by later people, though it is clear from a passage in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* that the people of north India were not allowed to take to sea-faring. It seems that Baudhāyana is not in favour of sea voyage in general but as the southerners live just on the bank, they may take to sea-faring. Northerners who live far away from the sea-coast have no business to do so.

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[1] Vedic Index, I. 472.
[2] RV. I. 25.7.
[3] RV. I. 48.3.
RV. I. 56.2.
[4] RV. I. 116.3.

This view, however, is not accepted by the Buddhists as is clear from their literature.

That the practice of sea-faring was prevalent in the Vedic period is further supported by the fact that sea-faring was not in a primitive condition in the Buddhist period. In the Buddhist India, there were land as well as sea routes.[4a] It was well developed and proper training was given in the art of navigation, which was known as the *niyāmakasippa*.[5] It is, however, not quite clear as to what was the exact nature of the training imparted to the mariners. Probably they were trained in the knowledge of various trade routes and directions of the winds and so on. Navigation was a very dangerous and difficult job. Perhaps there were no compass to tell the directions, nor were there any wireless operators in the ships to contact the outside world for help in emergency while sailing. In this condition certain birds were of great help to them. Every ship kept birds, which were let loose to fly and it is the habit of certain birds to fly to the direction of land and thus would enable the mariners to know if they were sailing near a land or they were still in region where there was no trace of it. It seems that an accomplished mariner had to possess the knowledge of training and utilising birds for this purpose. Shipwrecks were quite common and life was in danger every moment. The responsibilities of the captains of the ships were therefore heavy, as the lives of these travellers could be lost, if due to their negligence ships lost their routes.

It is found in the Bauddha Jatakas that the mariners organised themselves under a common name *niyāmaka jeṭṭhakas*.[6] *Jeṭṭhakas* referred to the head or the *Alderman* of a guild, and we know that all the crafts of this period had formed their guilds under their respective jeṭṭhakas. The navigators and the sea-traders had their guilds of which the *niyamakajeṭṭhakas* was the head. Probably he was the captain and owner of the ship and also the leader of the traders travelling with him.

[4a] J. I. 121.
[5] J. IV. 137.
[6] J. IV. 137.

Again, that sea trade was in a developed stage is supported from the description of Prince Vijaya's voyage with his 700 followers to Ceylon in the Ceylonese Chronicles—the *Dīpavaṁśa* and the *Mahāvaṁśa*. The *Mahāvaṁśa* mentions a very large ship accommodating eighteen officers of the state, seventyfive menial servants, and a number of slaves, and seven hundred virgins who accompanied the Panda princess to Ceylon.

The Jataka stories very often refer to ship-wrecks in the mid-ocean, where all the travellers used to perish. It is said that once 500 seamen went to a sea-voyage but the ship wrecked on the ocean and all became the food of the fish.[7] Another ship wrecked in the mid-ocean on the 7th day of the journey is mentioned.[8] Similarly, there are many such references. The mention of the ship-wrecks in the mid-ocean after a number of days of leaving the port suggests that the journeys were considerably long. Which were these distant countries, to which these ships sailed? The Jataka stories very clearly mention that trade relations existed with the Western and the Eastern countries, along with the busy coastal trade.

Further evidence of the sea-trade is furnished by the references to ship building. The Jataka stories mention the carpenters engaged in building ships. They made boats and ships.[9]

The evidence of India's trade relations through the sea routes with other countries in the past is proved from the external evidences which are more reliable. Ebony, ivory and cotton goods were supplied to Egypt by India in the second millennium B.C. is suggested by the Egyptian Inscriptions. In the 12th century B.C. the Pharoah Rameses III received in the yearly tribute cotton clothes of various kinds, dyed and undyed, linen, precious stones and cinnamon of Indian origin from the kingdom of Punt. India got in exchange from the land of Punt sweet scented gums from which scents and unguents of various types were made, of which five kinds are mentioned in the Atharveda Samhita. In the 10th century for the purpose of trade, they not only sold the industrial products of their country and accumulated wealth but spread the culture of their motherland.

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[7] J. V. 75.
[8] J. II. III.
[9] J. IV. 159. and J. IV. 427.

There are references to show that traders sailed for *Suvarṇabhūmi* (Burma). Though the names of the eastern islands are not mentioned, but from the nature of the brisk trade with *Suvarṇabhūmi* it can be assumed that traders sailed to the countries of the far east. If they were going very often to Burma and Malaya, they would have also gone to the countries adjoining them. It was this sea-trade of India which was started largely in Bihar. Champa was the most important river port from where traders sailed for *Suvarṇabhūmi.* It was from the ports on the Ganga that ships started for the far off coast of *Suvarṇabhūmi* and probably still further to the Malaya Peninsula and the islands of Jāvā, Sumatra, Borneo, Combodia etc. The important ports on the Ganga were Banaras and Champa during the earlier part of this period. But when Pataliputra became the capital of Magadha and expanded its trade activities, it became the greatest centre of trade.

A port was called *nāvā pattana.*[10] There were several important places on the banks of the rivers of shelter for ships. It seems that Banaras was a great port. In the Jataka, there is a reference that a sea trader brought the news of the arrival of a large ship in the port here. Hearing the news, about a hundred merchants went to buy the cargo.[11]

Mahaniddesa speaks of India's trade with Yona and Paramayona to the west and to the east with Kālamukha (i.e., Arakan), Suvarṇabhūmi (i.e., lower Burma), Vesunga, Verāpatha, Takkola, Tamuli, Tambapaṇṇi and Jāvā. Later texts of about the 3rd century B.C., speak of voyages down the river Ganga from Banaras to the mouth of it and then across the Indian Ocean to the opposite coast of Burma and even for Bharukaccha round Cape Comorin to the same destination.

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[10] J. I. 121.
[11] J. IV. I. 121.

Apart from these places, there were several sea harbours. Bharukaccha[12] was one of them from where merchants sailed abroad for trade. Even the merchants from Banaras used to go to this sea-harbour for trade with distant lands such as Suvarṇabhūmi, etc. Other sea-ports were Suppāraka,[13] Sovīra,[14], Kāvirapaṭṭana,[15], Korambīya[16] and Gambhirā.[17]

Trade was done as far as the Suvarṇadwipa. People from Banaras used to go on their vessels filled with merchandise. The Ganges was the most important and busy waterway for both inland and overseas trade. Cargoes used to go from Campa to Suvarṇabhūmi[18] where even the Brahmanas used to come from Banaras.[19] It is said that a merchant sailed for Svarṇadwīpa (the land of Burma and Siam) with the hope of bringing immense wealth from that land. The incident refers to a time when Banaras was known as Molini. The merchant belonged to Banaras and he made a ship for trade. It is more convincing that the harbour from where he sailed was that of Banaras. He filled the ship with merchandise. Ships were so big that a group of 700 men travelled only in one ship. The shipping craft seems to have been well developed.

Tāmralipti occurs only in later literature. It was a great sea-port. The Buddhists went to Ceylon from here (G.E.B. p. 69). It might have been a sea-port during this period also though not so eminent. Ships starting from Banaras, Pataliputra and Campa probably passed through this sea-port. Further evidence of the sea-trade is furnished by the references to ship-building. The Jataka stories mention the carpenters engaged in building ships. They made boats and ships.[20]

[12] J. III. 126-27.
[13] IV. 138-42.
[14] III. 470.
[15] IV. 238. Paṭṭana itself shows that it was a port.
[16] V. 75.
[17] I. 369.
[18] VI. 34.
[19] IV. 15.
[20] J. IV. 159.

In those days even the rich people do not like to take the risk of starting a ship business. We find in the Jataka that a young man named Mithavindaka of Banaras belonging to a wealthy family started business in a ship. When he expressed this idea before his mother, she tried in vain to dissuade him on the ground that the sea was dangerous. Sea-trading was an adventurous undertaking; but the people were brave enough to sail in the waters of the sea.[21]

The life of mariners was always uncertain. Traders went far and wide with the hope of accumulating wealth but sometimes none returned to their countries or if escaped from the danger, they had to deplore for the lost wealth.[22] There is a mention of a ship wreck near a sea town of Ceylon, though its detail is not mentioned. Only the Kalyanī and the Nāgadipa rivers are mentioned.[23]

LAND TRADE ROUTES

According to the Jatakas there were two main routes: the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* which was from Rajagriha to Pratiṣṭāna on the Godavari via. Śrāvasti and Sāketa, and the *Uttarāpatha* was Śrāvasti to Taxila via. Mathura across the sandy desert of Rajputana. However, apart from these two principal trade routes, there were trade routes from Banaras to Ujjeni,[24] Videha,[25] via. Kashmir to Gandhāra, Banaras to Śravasti,[26] Rajagriha to Śravasti,[27] Magadha to Sauvīra,[28] Campa to Tāmralipti[29] and there are references of transport in the Ganga. The boats carried mainly food from town to the city gates and then transactions were carried on.[30] There were *apaṇas* (shops) where commodities were displayed for sale[31] and in the *autarāpaṇa* things were stored before it is sold. If a merchant brought all the cargo every merchant had to buy from him.[32]

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[21] J. 439.
[22] J. 535.
[23] J. 196.
[24] J. II. 248.
[25] J. III. 365.
[26] J. II. 295.
[27] Suttanipāta, VV. 1012-13, B. 1. p. 10.
[28] Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, p. 336.
[29] B. I. p. 103.
[30] J. IV. 445.

Trade continued to develop during this period. Busy intercourse was going on from east to west and from west to east.[33] Commercial commodities loaded in hundreds of carts were despatched for the west from the eastern part of the country.

The main land routes connecting Bihar with other parts of the country were :—

(i) *Rajagriha to Puṣakalāvatī*—This route starting from Rajagriha, the early capital of Magadha extended as far as Puṣakalāvatī in the Gandhāra. It was through this route that students went to Takṣaśila for their education. The great physician Jīvaka was sent there from Rajagriha for higher education in the science of Medicine. The Jataka stories mention a number of princes from Vārāṇasī going to Takṣaśilā for their studies. The course of this route from Rājagriha to Kauśāmbī is known from the journey of the Buddha.[34]

(ii) *Rajagriha to Paṭiṭhāna*—This route followed two courses. The one starting from Rajagriha went to Śrāvastī and then taking a turn to the south joined the first road at Kauśāmbī and then proceeded to Paṭiṭhāna. The other route was the same as the Rajagriha-Puṣakalāvatī road up to Kauśāmbī from where it turned to the direction of Paṭiṭhāna. From Rajagriha to Śrāvasti,[35] and then to Kauśāmbī.[36] This route was used by the Buddha. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta* gives the detail of the route from Rajagriha to Kuśīnagara. The route passed through Rajagriha, Pātaliputra, Vaiśāli, Kauśīnagar, Kapilavatthu, Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī. The *Vimāna Vatthu Aṭṭhakatha* describes the course of this route from Śrāvastī to Paṭiṭhana. The halting places mentioned from Śrāvasti are Sāketa, etc.

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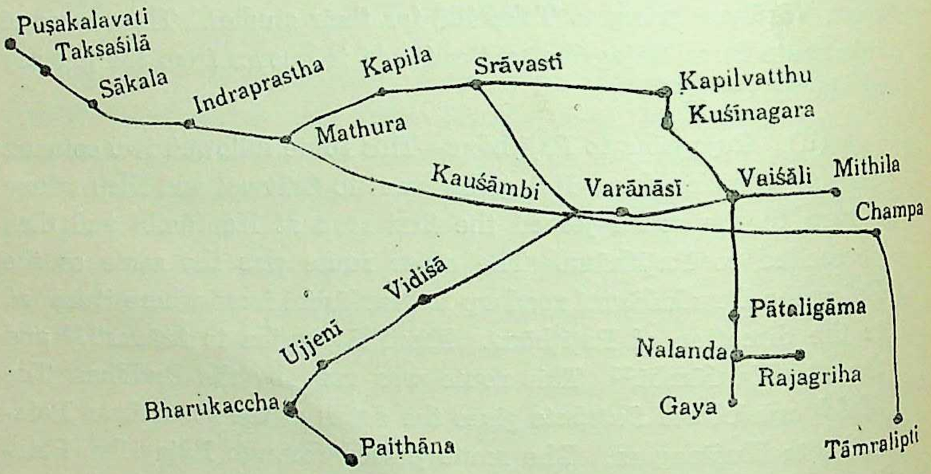
[31] J. II. 267.
[32] J. I. 122.
[33] J. I. 98.
[34] Chulla, VII. 2.5.
[35] M. V. VI. 281.
[36] M. V. X. 4. 5.

There were two main routes—(i) Dakṣiṇāpatha was Rajagriha to Pratiṣthāna on the Godavari, via. Śrāvastī and Sāketa and (ii) Uttarapatha was Śrāvasti to Takṣaśilā via. Mathurā across the sandy desert of Rajputana.

However, apart from these two main routes, there were other trade routes, viz., Banaras to Ujjeni,[37] Videha via Kashmir to Gandhara,[38] Banaras to Sāvathi,[39] Rajagriha to Śrāvasti;[40-41] Magadha to Sauvīra;[42-43] Campā to Tāmralipti;[44-45] and there are references of transport in the Ganga and other important rivers of the northern India.

We can draw the following chart of the land routes which will give a clear picture to us:


Puṣakalavati
Takṣaśilā
Sākala
Indraprastha
Kapila
Srāvasti
Kapilvatthu
Kuśinagara
Mathura
Kauśāmbi
Varānāsī
Vaiśāli
Mithila
Champa
Vidiśā
Ujjeni
Bharukaccha
Paiṭhāna
Pātaligāma
Nalanda
Rajagriha
Gaya
Tāmralipti

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37. J. II. 248.
38. J. III. 365.
39. J. II. 294.
40-41. Suttanípāta, V. 1012-13, B. 1. p. 103.
42-43. Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, p. 336.
44-45. B. 1. p. 103.

While reading the Buddhist literature, we find that Lord Buddha made a journey from Rajagriha to Śrāvasti, via. Pāṭaligāma and Vaiśālī to Kuśīnārā.[46] According to the *Cullavagga* there were roads from Vaiśāli to Sahajāti[47] Rajagriha to Kausambi, Vajjian Bhikṣus went from Vaiśāli to Sahajāti[48] on the southern coast via. Kānyakubja.[49] Besides these there were other roads, viz. Mithila to Gandhāra, via. Kashmir,[50] Mithila to Campa,[51] Banaras to Ujjeni,[52] Mithila to Kapila and Indraprastha,[53] Sākala to Kuśāvati[54] which was a distant to 100 leagues and was travelled by Kuśā, Campā to Vārāṇaśi, via. Pātaligāma.[55]

Caravan life was an important aspect of the trading community of this period. All the long distant land trades were carried on by the bands of caravans. It is really romantic to think of them traversing thousands of miles when the means of communication were neither good nor safe. There were no metalled roads; but rough roads levelled by the wheels of the moving carts which passed through dense forests inhabited by wild beasts and highway robbers, who had made life quite insecure. They had to pass also through deserts where it was very difficult to trace the routes and many perished due to the onslaught of robbers or on account of being led away in the unknown wilderness.

As caravans passed through deserts, the most essential need was of water. Days could be passed without food or men could survive on herbs but lack of water would ultimately result in the ruin of the whole party. The travellers used to dig wells even for bathing, but it was not an easy task to find where water could be available easily by digging. Therefore the caravan leaders thought it to be the safest, the wisest and the most sensible step to carry drinking water and big jars filled with sweet drinking water were loaded on the carts.[56] They had also to carry with them fire-wood, oil and rice, etc.[57] They had also to get themselves armed with weapons, because of the robbers who had made roads quite insecure.[58] There was also the fear of beasts, if they passed through forests.

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[46] Mahāvaṁśa, VI. 28. 1; M. VI. 36.A.
[47] XII. 1. 9.
[48] VII. 2. 5.
[49] Vimānavaṭṭhu Aṭṭhakathā, 370, 336.
[50] J. III. 365.
[51] J. VI. 32.
[52] J. II. 248.
[53] J. VI. 447.
[54] J. V. 290.
[55] J. II. 112, J. IV. 15.

It is said that there were five major dangers that awaited the travellers. They were of robbers, wild beasts, draught, demons and famine.[59] The most acute problem on the path of the journeys was of the robbers and demons; who knew that by destroying water reservoir, they could easily bring about the destruction of the caravan party. It was easy to attack and loot a caravan when its members had become weak due to unavailability of water and could not give any effective resistance to the attackers. Jataka No. 1 tells us that demons made a Satthavāha to throw away his water jar and finding them exhausted on account of thril, attacked at night and willed all of them.[60] Jataka No. 76 informs us that robbers armed with bows, clubs and other weapons attacked the caravans when all the members of it were in slumber. Vigilance and guard for the whole night were required to ensure safety. The robbers were not weak in their numerical strength. At certain places they lived in group consisting of five hundred, and looted the traders.[61]

In addition to the robbers there were beautiful maidens who by their feminine charm and bewitching beauty allured the travellers, got them killed and took their possessions.[62] It is just possible that mischievous women were employed by robbers to serve their ends.

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[56] J. I. 101.
[57] J. I. 207.
[58] S.B.E. XIII, p. 37.
[59] J. I. 99.
[60] J. I. 101.
[61] J. 253.
[62] J. No. 96.

Caravan leaders preferred to go separately. The clever ones thought it unwise to start together with other caravan because in the company of other caravans, it would have been a hard matter to get food, water and other requirements for all men, nor there would be available ample grass for the oxen.[63] Some preferred to go earlier while others liked to start after the first party had gone, allowing a gap of six weeks.[64] In both cases there were advantages.

Banaras was a great centre and from where merchants went to Bharukaccha for their trade with the foreign countries of the west through sea, and waggons from the west arrived there. Most probably cotton goods for which Banaras was famous were despatched for the west. Silver cloth is praised as valuable and probably it was the wool of the Punjab that found a favourable market in the East which seems to have been safely concluded that the valuable goods produced were loaded on carts and ships for distant lands through land and sea. The eastern part of the country got the supply of horses from the north country[65] and Sindh.[66] It was Banaras through which most of the trade between the Eastern and the Western parts of the Gangetic plain and south-west India was transacted.

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[63] J. I. 98.
[64] J. I. 101.
[65] J. Nos. 5, 158, 254.
[66] J. Nos. 24, 211.

Political History of Mithila

(C. 7th-11th century A.D.)

BY

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The history of Mithilā is enveloped in obscurity and nothing tangible is known about the actual state of affairs in a country, so much renowned all over the world for its intellectual and cultural activity. Stray references are found here and there about certain names and places but no attempt has been as yet made to piece together all those scattered knowledge and give a concrete shape. Unfortunately for us we have neither *Bāna's "Harshacharitra"* nor *Kalhana's "Rājtaraṇgiṇi"* so far as this region is concerned. We are hopelessly disappointed when we search for such other sources as Numismatic or Epigraphic. Hence in the present state of our knowledge we have to take recourse to various stray references to reconstruct our history. It is difficult to ascertain the actual position of *Mithilā* during the period under review. For more than a century after the death of Harshavardhan (C. 648-750), the history of the North-eastern India is marked by chaos and confusion.

Under Harshavardhan *Mithilā* gained importance as a border province with Nepāl, Tibet and China on the north and Kāmrupa on the east. To what extent did Śaśāṅka hold sway over *Mithilā* is still a matter of controversy. We simply learn that the *Gauḍādhipathi* of *Bāṇa* or Śaśānka of Ywān-Chwāng ruled over a powerful kingdom. It included besides Karṇasuvarṇa, Magadh and the intervening kingdom or tracts of Tirabhukti and Kāsi.[1] The tradition about Tirhut being a part of five-divisioned Gauḍa world may not be a mere fiction, as a part of Bihār was included in the Gauḍa dominion of Śaśaṅka.[2] Bhāṣkaravarman's sway over eastern *Mithilā* is evident from the Nidhanpur Copper-plate. As early as 7th century A.D., Kosi formed the common boundary of the province of Kāmrupa and *Mithilā*. Buchānan in his report pointed out that in times of remote antiquity, Kośi joined the Brahmaputra having no connection with the Ganges. The land donated by the Nidhanpur Charter lay in Eastern *Mithilā* and we learn from the same epigraphic source that the produce of the land was increased by the Kauśiki river. In those days, the north-western boundary of Kāmrupa was *Purneā* in eastern Mithilā and Kāmrupa king could conquer without going to *Puṅdravardhan.* The boundaries of ancient *Mithilā* and Kāmrupa were co-terminus on the Kośi river in the *Purnea* district.

In the first half of the 6th century A.D., Gupta power was on the decline and during this period Yaśodharman of Mālvā invaded the whole of northern India. In 554 A.D., Maukhari king Iśānvarmaṇ overran Puṅdravardhan. Prior to 554 A.D., Mahābhutvarman crossed the Kāratoyā and conquered a part of eastern Mithilā and Moraṅg and in order to commemorate his conquest made grants of land to the Brāhmaṇas within the conquered area. This area continued under Kāmrupa till the reign of Susthitvarman. During the last part of the 6th century A.D., Mahāsengupta, attempting to reassert Gupta supremacy, invaded Kāmrupa and acquired this area.[3] Bhāṣkarvarman assisted by Harshavardhan defeated Śaśāṅka and acquired this area and from his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa issued Nidhanpur Charter confirming the grant of his ancestor.[4] By 638 A.D., after Śaśāṅka's death, north and west Bengal was conquered by Bhāṣkarvarman. The fact that he made a grant from the victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa shows that he even succeeded in seizing the capital city of Śaśāṅka. The turmoil following the death of Harsha might have enabled Bhāṣkarvarman to conquer Bengāl and pitch his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. He must have occupied the capital in 648 A.D., when he is referred to as the king of Eastern India in the Chinese annals[5] in connection with the expedition of Wang-Hiuen-Tse.[6] Bhāṣkarvarman's occupation of Mithilā is confirmed by the fact that from there he could actively assist the Chinese envoy who had taken refuge in Nepāl just to the north of Mithilā.

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[1] Mr. M. Chakravarti—JASB (N.S.) iv. No. 5 (1908), p. 275. Cf. Tulsiprasad Baṇdhopādhyāya—"Madhyayuger Bāṇglā Sāhitya".

[2] Dr. B. C. Sen—Historical Aspects of Bengāl Inscriptions, p. 124.

[3] Apshad Stone Inscription.

[4] JKAS—II. 3 & 4; IC. I. P. 421-31.

It is generally believed that the Later Guptas held sway over the Uttarāpatha.[7] No inscriptions or coins of the Later Guptas have been found in Tirhuta. For the time being it may be assumed that after the fall of such mighty monarchs as Śaśāṇka, Bhāṣkarvarman and Harshavardhan, the Later Guptas took advantage of the situation and established their sway in Bihār minus Mithilā, which passed under the Tibetan rule during this period.[8] The period of the existence of the Tibetan rule in Tirhuta is still a matter of controversy but the fact remains that there was some sort of political upheaval after the fall of Harsha. It is generally accepted that in the year 703 A.D., Mithilā threw off the Tibetan Suzerainty and after this event begins a new phase in Mithilā's history.[9] It is believed that the overthrow of the Tibetan authority was marked by the reestablishment of the Later Guptas in Magadh. Unless further evidence is forthcoming, we cannot say anything about their hold in Mithilā.

In the absence of all historical evidence, we have to depend solely on the solitary account of Lāmā Tārānath. According to that account, the Chandra dynasty ruled in Bengāl before the rise of the Pālas. Bālchandra of that dynasty established his rule in (Tirahuti) and extended his rule to Kāmarūpa.[10] His son Vimalachandra retrieved the fortunes of his family and ruled over the kingdoms of Bengāl, Kāmrupa and Tirhuta. He married the sister of king Bhartrihari of Mālwā and was succeeded by his son Govindachandra. He was succeeded by his son Lalitachandra and both of them attained ṣiddhi. They ruled over the same territories. Then ensued the period of anarchy in the five eastern provinces presumably in Bengāl, Kāmrupa, Odiviśa, Vārendra and Tirbhukti. According to Lāmā Tārānāth, Bengāl ruled Tirhut and Kāmrupa.[11] We have no definite information about the actual political condition of Mithilā after Harsha. How long and to what extent did Chandra kingdom exist and how it ended, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge. We are not sure whether Yasovarman of Kanauj ruled over Mithilā or not? The author of Gauḍvāho, Vākpati, credits him with the title of world conqueror.[12] It is asserted that he undertook a military expedition all over northern India. The history of North-eastern India in the first half of the 8th century was in a state of flux and the euology of the court-poet seems to contain an iota of truth. Yasovarman might have taken the advantage of the growing weakness of the eastern rulers and established his own sway. It is probable that it was cut short by Lalitāditya's move against Yasovarman.

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[5] Beal—Life of Hiuen-tsang, p. 172.
[6] IHQ. XV. 122.
[7] H. C. Raichoudhary—PHAI. 5th Edition, p. 610.
[8] Vide Writer's Paper "Early History of Mithilā" in the June issue of the JBRS, Patna, 1952.
[9] Levi—Nepāl, II. p. 174-5 accepts 702 A.D.
[10] Sen—Opti. Citi. p. 375.

That anarchy was the order of the day is evident from the Khalimpore copper plate of Dharmapāl.[13] In the North-eastern India, the Pālas established the strongest empire after the Guptas. It is believed that Gopāl exercised some influence over Tirhuta.[14] Dharmapāl was the founder of the greatness of this line and was a leading figure in the then politics.[15] He is referred to as Uttarāpathaśwāmina by a Gujrāti poet Ṣoddhala.[16] The expression "Pañch-Gauḍa" is most probably reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāl. This term has been used in a very wide sense by

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[11] IHQ., XVI, pp. 220-228.

[12] S. P. Pandit—"Gauḍavāho", Introduction, p. XCV. VI; Dr. R. C. Majumdar & others place him between 725 & 735 A.D.

[13] Kielhorn, while interpreting the word "Matsya-Nyāya" thinks, "Gopāl was made king by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things in which every one was prey of his neighbours."

[14] EI. I. 122; A.S.R. II. 451; Singh, "History of Tirhut", p. 54.

[15] R. D. Banerji—"Pālas of Bengāl", p. 48.

[16] Soddhala—"Udaya Sundari Kathā" GOS. p. 4-6.

Kalhana[17] and was taken to mean Gauḍa proper, Śārasvata (Eastern Punjab) Kānyakubja, (Gangetic Doab), Mithilā, and Utkala. Before the Muhammadan conquest, Bengāl is said to have been divided into five districts.[18] Gauḍa signified the Bengāl empire, the beginnings of which may be traced to the time of Śaśāṅka with its culmination attained during the Pāla period. It was in this sense that Kalhana probably used this expression. Till the time of the Pālas and Senas, Mithilā was regarded as the fifth division of Bengāl. The boundaries of Mithilā, Bengāl and Kāmrupa were not clearly marked and the country west of Mahānandā was regarded as the country of Mithilā.[19] While studying the history of Mithilā, we have to remember that the change in the course of river Kośi is more remarkable than Tistā in Bengāl. Originally Kosi ran eastward and fell into the Brahmaputra. Kośi and Mahānandā joined the Kārtoyā river and they formed the ethnic boundary-line. As early as the 7th century A.D., Kośi formed the common boundary-line between Kāmrupa and Mithilā. Even during the early medieval period Burhi Kośi formed the boundary-line between the territory of Lakhnāwati and Tirhuta. Gauḍa must have been lying to the north of Kośala and to the north-west of Mithilā.[20] On the basis of available evidence, it appears that the Pālas held sway over Mithilā since the establishment of their empire. According to the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāl, Gopāl is said to have conquered the earth as far as sea. Dharmapāla extended his sway to the west of Bengāl. The tripartite struggle was a most important factor in the political history of early medieval India and the keynote of this struggle was the possession of the Ganges and the Jumnā. Monghyr in north Bihār was the deciding centre in this struggle.

Dharmapāla is said to have subjugated Kāmrupa, Tirāhuti, Gauḍa and other countries.[21] From the account of Lāmā Tārānāth, it appears that Dharmapāla held sway over Tirhuta. From

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[17] Rājtarañgini—IV. p. 468.

[18] Vallāl-charitra; Cf. Riyāz-us-Salātin, p. 47 Fn.; For a detailed discussion, refer to an article on "Gauda" by Dr. D. C. Sarkar in IHQ. XXVIII—p. 123-4.

[19] Hamilton-Hindustān.

[20] B. C. Mazumdār—JRAS. (1906) p. 442.

[21] Account of Lāmā Tārānāth, p. 216-7.

Śwayambhu-purāṇa, we learn that he occupied the throne of Bengāl and Monghyr copper-plate refers to a campaign of Dharmapāla at the foot of the Himālayās.[22] It seems that he acquired supremacy over Nepāl after conquering Mithilā. Devapāl is said to have subdued the whole of northern India, from Himālayās to Vindhyās, and from eastern to the western Ocean.[23] All authorities agree that he had his unquestioned sovereignty over northern India. There is no doubt that these two rulers held sway over the whole of present Bihār and undivided Bengāl. During this period, the Gurjaras began to raise their heads. Devapāla suppressed them and defeated Bhoja. The struggle continued after Devapāla and Bhoja turned his attention towards Bengāl. The Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāinpāla, which was issued when the king was staying at Mudgagiri, records the grant of a village Makutika to the temple of Shiva at Kalaśpota, situated in the Kakśa Viṣaya of Tirbhukti. There is no doubt that Nārāinpāla held sway over Tirhut till the 17th year of his reign. There is nothing to doubt his suzerainty in Mithilā as no king can grant anything in a place where he holds no sway. Gandak and Sona were the dividing lines between the Pālas and the Pratihāra empire. The Pratihāras snatched some portion of Tirhuta from the Pālas probably after the 27th year of the reign of Nārāinpāla.

During the time of Rājyapāla, the Gurjaras crossed the Sona and in the north overran Tirhuta.[24] Taking advantage of the Pālas' weakness, the Pratihāras under Bhoja and Mahendrapāla had made attempts to push forward their frontier. The Pālas were rulers of Vārendri, Tirbhukti and Magadh in the early years of Nārāinpāla. In the latter part of the 9th century, Magadh, Vārendri and possibly East Bengāl passed into the hands of the Pratihāras. It is likely that the Pālas retired to Tirbhukti.[25] The Pratihāra empire reached its heights under Mahendrapāl. One of his copper-plates has,

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22. IC. IV. p. 266.

23. Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of Bādal—EI. II. p. 160.

24. Allan—Cambridge shorter history p. 144. According to Dr. H. C. Rai (DHNI. I. 305) the Gurjaras ran the whole of Tirhuta during the reign of Rājyapāla.

25. Dr. D. C. Ganguli in IHQ (XVI. 181) is of opinion that Bhoja had extended his power in northern India. Cf. R. C. Mazumdār—GP. 52.

been found in Tirhuta.[26] The discovery of a copper-plate does not necessarily mean the loss of Tirbhukti as Mr. Banerji is inclined to believe. The probability is that after completing his Magadhan conquest, Mahendrapāl made a dash towards Mithilā but failed to conquer the whole of it. A part of Mithilā might have come under his sway for sometime. The fall of the Pratihāras let loose other forces which proved no less disastrous. The Chandellas and the Kālachuris tried to establish their political supremacy in northern India and the Pālas had to bear the brunt of their aggressive imperialism.

The Khajurāho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, (dated 954 A.D.) son of Yaśovarman, gives the following account of the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman ...... "who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equaled the forces.....who weakened the Mithilās (Śithilāh Mithilāh)......" (Verse 23).[27] He was a contemporary of Rājyapāl or his son Gopāl II. It is likely that the Pālas had recovered Mithilā from the Pratihāras by that time.[28] This description presents a tragic contrast to Kalhana's tribute to the courage, intrepedity and other martial qualities of the Gauḍas. According to Dr. Sen,[29] North Bihār seems to have been outside the pale of political jurisdiction of the Pālas at the time as is implied by the separate mention of Mithilā in the list of territories subjugated by Yaśovarman. The contention of Dr. Sen does not hold good as we frequently come across such instances of repetitions in various inscriptions. This is very common. The hyperbolic expression in this inscription is not to be relied upon unless more corroborative evidence is forthcoming. The Chandel invasion was just like a wave and it subsided soon as is evident by the restoration of the Pāla power in Mithilā during the reign of Mahipāl I. The description in the epigraph is a poetic way of describing military raids in these countries and it is difficult to get any idea of its nature and effect.

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[26] R. D. Banerji—PB. 59. Cf. Rai, DHNI. I. 303, in the 13th of his reign, Mahendrapāl advanced eastward along the north bank of the Ganges and annexed the whole of Tirhuta and North Bengāl.

[27] EI. I. 126-8 and 132-4.

[28] H. C. Rai—DHNI. II. p. 676.

[29] Sen. Opt. cit. p. 366.

That Mithilā was under the sway of Mahipāl I is evident from Imādpur inscription.[30] An historical evidence is cited against his authority in Mithilā. The Colophon of a Rāmāyaṇ manuscript, discovered at Nepāl, refers to Mahārājadhirāj Punyāvaloka Gāñgeyadeva (Gauḍadhwaja) ruling in Tirbhukti in Saṁvat 1076 of an unspecified Era. This has given rise to a good deal of confusion among the scholars. Bendall and others took it to be equivalent to 1019 A.D. and identified this Gañgeyadeva with the Kālāchuri king of that name.[31] This has been questioned by Levi and others.[32] Mm. Mirāshi does not agree with the above scholars and suggests the possibility of Rāśtrakūta domination in Tirhuta.[33] Dr. R. C. Majumdār identifies him with the Karnāt king of Mithilā.[34] This colophon, supplemented by other sources and local tradition, confirms our belief that this Gāñgeyadeva belonged to the Karnāt dynasty of Mithilā. It is suggested by some that Gāñgeyadeva defeated Mahipāl and conquered Mithilā. This runs counter to the Imādpur inscription of Mahipāl dated in the year 48, which could hardly be placed before 1019 A.D., when Mithilā is supposed to have been under Gāñgeyadeva. It can be said beyond any shadow of doubt that Mahipāl held sway over Mithilā. There might have been some contest for supremacy between the Chedis and the Pālas. For Gāñgeyadeva's rule, there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence. The Bherāghāt stone inscription tells us that Yasahkarna became famous by devastating Champāraṇya.[35] Kielhorn suggested that the place should denote a tract of country near Godāvari river. According to Dr. Ray, the place should be identified with the modern Champāran in North Bihar.[36] If we accept Gāñgeyadeva's suzerainty in Tirhuta on the basis of the Rāmāyaṇa colophon then in that case it appears that the area may have been lost to the Kalachuris after the defeat which overwhelmed Karna during the latter part of his reign. Yashkarna may have therefore undertaken an expedition to that province to punish its rebellious chiefs. That he succeeded in making no permanent impression in Tirhuta is clear from the inscription of Alhandevi. It was only a raid, if we accept the proposed identification in the third decade of the 11th century A.D. According to Rāmcharitra, Vigrahapāl III defeated Karna.[37] Peace was concluded and the alliance was cemented by the marriage of Karna's daughter with Vigrahpāl III.

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[30] IA. XIV. No. 17. p. 165.

[31] Catalogue of Palm-leaf manuscript (Introduction)—Bendall, p. 18-9.

[32] Levi—Nepal II. p. 202 fn. 1; Chanda—GR. p. 42 fn.

[33] Silver Volume of ABORI—Poona. p. 300-1.

[34] IHQ. VII. pp. 679-689; Cf. Majumdar, History of Bengal—I. p. 170; Writers' Paper on "Gangeyadeva of Tirbhukti" in the Lucknow session of the AIOC. 1951. "Garuḍadhwaja" in place of "Gauḍadhwaja" in another colophon of the same manuscript.

[35] EI. II. p. 11, Verse 14.

[36] DHNI. II. p. 788.

The discovery of two new Pāla inscriptions at Naulāgarh is an important evidence of Pāla rule in Tirhuta. These two inscriptions are important in their own way. The Naulāgarh inscription No. 1 gives the date of the epigraph and the name of the Krimila Viṣaya. The Naulāgarh inscription No. 2 tells us that there was a Vihār.[38] A silver coin was also discovered in that region. Dr. Altekar, on seeing the plate, wrote to me that the coin belonged to Vigrahapāl III. Fortunately for us, we took the photograph of the only coin of Vigrahapal III in that area because the coin has been missing since then.

From the standpoint of political history, Naulāgarh inscription No. 1 is very important. It throws a flood of light on the Pāla history in Mithilā. The inscription refers to Vigrahapāldeva and it may be attributed to Vigrahpāl III. During his time, the Pālas were losing their political hold not only in Bengāl but also in Bihār. We have shown above that they held sway in Mithilā since the inception of their rule and that continued till the reign of Rāmpāl. It is true that there were occasional contests for supremacy among the various aggressive powers but Mithilā remained a part of the Pāla empire till the rise of Nānyadeva. Vigrahpāl III, losing all power in south Bihār, tried to retrieve the patrimony in

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[37] Rāmcharita I, 9 Commentary.

[38] These two inscriptions have been edited by me and published on behalf of the Jayaswāl Archaeological and Historical Society and Museum, Begusarai, in the G. D. College Bulletin Series Nos. 1 and 2, respectively. We have further proof of Pāla rule in North Bihar or Mithilā. Vide—The Bongāon copper-plate of Vigrahapāl III discovered and edited by Dr. D. C. Sarkar.

Mithilā and strengthened his position there. His chronology is still uncertain and it is likely that he might have ruled for more than 24 years. The script of the inscription bears testimony to the fact that it belongs to the latter half of 11th century. Further we learn that Krimilā Viṣaya was near Naulāgarh. The discovery of Pāla images, still unnoticed, in different parts of Tirhuta bears testimony to the fact that the Pālas had a continued rule in Tirhuta.

A palm-leaf manuscript of Kubijāmataṁ[39] notes in the Colophon that it was copied under the reign of Buddhist emperor Rāmpāldeva. He was the suzerain of Nepāl.[40] He recovered Mithilā and Āssām. We learn from verse 4 of the Kamauli copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva that Rāmpāl spread the glory by gaining the country of Janaka (i.e. Mithilā).[41] The Pāla empire had become sufficiently weak by the time of Rāmpāl. Two Karnāta families within the boundaries of the Pāla empire had raised their heads. These were the Senas in Bengāl and the Karnats of Mithilā. Mithilā passed out of the hands of the Pālas during the time of Rāmpāl. Nānyadeva established his kingdom in 1097.[42]

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39. H. P. Śāshtri—Catalogue 54.
40. Jayaswāl—Chronology and History of Nepāl, 99-100.
41. EI II. p. 355.
42. Vide Writer's Paper "Nañyadeva and his contemporaries" in the Jaipur session of IHC and "The Karnātas of Mithilā."

The Horse Traders of Malai-Mandalam

BY

K. D. SWAMINATHAN, M.A.
Ootacamund

We have interesting information about horse dealers (*Kudirai-cheṭṭis*) and their merchant guilds, who seem to have had their headquarters in Malai-Maṇḍalam (Tranvancore) from the inscriptions of the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyās. The members of the guild plied a brisk trade in horses in the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries during the 12th and the 13th Centuries, as testified by later historians like Wassaf and Marco Polo. The *Kudirai-cheṭṭis* figure prominently in inscriptions from Tanjore, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and South Arcot Districts.

An epigraph from the Kapardīśvara temple, Tiruvalañjuḷi, Kumbhakōṇam taluk Tanjore District, dated the 11th year (1226 A.D.) of *Tribhuvanachakṛavartin* Rājarājadēva (Rājarāja III) gives information about Govindan a *Kudirai-cheṭṭi* (horse dealer) of Taḷaipaḷḷi, a village in Nagercoil taluk of Travancore, which is called Malai-Maṇḍalam. The inscription records a gift of land by purchase by the horse dealer, for providing daily offerings to God Tiruvalañjuḷi Uḍaiyār and Goddess Vaṇḍuvāḷkuḷali Nāchchiyār.[1]

A record of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Alluntika Mahārāja Gaṇḍagōpaladēva dated the fifth year, Makara, Wednesday corresponding to January 24, 1229 A.D. Wednesday, from the Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple, Kañchīpuram, mentions a gift of 1750 *Nellur-pudu-māḍai* for purchase of land for offerings by a merchant from Malai-Maṇḍalam named Iyakkan Aiya Nambi Seṭṭi of Kārāyapaḷḷi[2] Iyakkan Aiya Nambi Seṭṭi might have been a horse dealer from Malai Maṇḍalam. It is of interest to note that all the horsedealers (*Kudirai-cheṭṭis*) referred to in the inscriptions, came from Malai-Maṇḍalam and that they were invariably called Nāyakkans or Seṭṭis. Several merchants of this class of Nāyakkans from Malai-Maṇḍalam are mentioned in the records of the 13th century from Kañchīpuram.[3] Two inscriptions, dated the 24th year (1240 A.D.) of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājarājadēva (Rājarāja III) from the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram, contain information about two horse dealers (*Kudirai-cheṭṭis*) named Śeṉṉi Nāyakkan of Tāḷaipaḷḷi and Paḍappai Nārāyaṇa Nāyakkan.[4] The first record registers an endowment of land after purchase by Seṉṉi Nāyakkan, for a flower garden for the temple. The original sale deed and the present gift were also engraved on the temple walls by royal order. The second one also registers endowment of land for a flower garden by Paḍappai Nārāyana Nayakkan. Both the records mention the royal secretary Mūveṇḍavēlan.

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[1] ARSIE 1927-28; No. 196.
[2] ARE, 1919, No. 441 and 598.

Another record of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājendrachōladēva (Rājendra III) from the Purātanēśvara temple, Tiruchchirrambalam, Pattukottai taluk, Tanjore District, dated in the 7th year of the king mentions a horse dealer Malaiyan..................of Kulamukkil who also bore the surname of Kulōttunga Śōḻa Seṭṭi.[5] In the 2nd year 1257 A.D. of the Hōyasāla king Vīra Rāmanātha figures another horse dealer (Kudirai cheṭṭi) by name Tuppa Nāyaka of Malai Maṇḍalam.[6] This Tuppa Nāyaka perhaps was identical with Tuppa Nāyakkar who founded an agrahāra and who figures in two records of the Pāṇḍya king Jatāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya.[7] In an inscription from the Tirupurāntakēśvara temple, Tirupurāntakam, dated the 15th year (1261 A.D.) of Rājēndra Chōḻa III, mention is made of a horse dealer named Ashṭamūrti Nāyakkan of Malai-Maṇḍalam.[8]

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[3] See texts of ARE 1919, No. 361. In the 34th year of Kulōttunga III, records gift by Nīlakaṇta Nāyakkan, a native of Ōrālachchēri in Veḷḷappa-ṇāḍu of Malai-Maṇḍalam of 33 cattle for a perpetual lamp in the Aruḷālaperumaḷ temple.

No. 346. In the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga III, records gift of 135 goats for perpetual lamps by Rāman, of Muroṇōttamaṅgalam in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu a district of Malai-Maṇḍalam.

No. 597. In the 18th year (1233 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. Mentions gift of 33 cattle and lamp stand by Kaṇḍan Ēranambi of Kuḷamūkku in Malai-Maṇḍalam.

No. 399. In the 22nd year (1238 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. Records gift of two lamps to the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple by Sāttan Semmā Chettiar, a native of Muraṇottamaṅgaḷam in Vaḷḷuvanāḍu and Malai-Maṇḍalam.

No. 538. In the 5th year (1254 A.D.) of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpaladēva Records gift of cows for perpetual lamp to the Arulāḷa perumāl temple by Śrī Kumāran, a member of the Nāyakkanmārs of Malai-Maṇḍalam.

No. 393. In the 8th year 1257 A.D. of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpaladēva Records gift of lamp by Tanmutturutti Nāyakkan of Malai-Mandalam Nāyakkars.

No. 537. In he 18th year (1267 A.D.) of Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpaladēva. Records gift of cows and lampstand by Mayyur Rāmaṇṇdēvan, a member of the Nāyakkanmar of Malai-Maṇḍalam.

No. 429. In the 20th year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpalaḍēva. Gift of 33 cattle by Pālapaḷḷi Nārayaṇan Kaṇḍan of Malai-Maṇḍalam Nāyakkars.

No. 503. In the 21st year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpaladēva. Records gift of 32 cows and 1 bull by Kaṇṇanūr Rāmanakkaṇ, a nāyaka of Malai-Maṇḍalam.

[4] ARSIE, 1935-36, Nos. 15 and 16.

During the days of the Pāṇḍyas also the Kudirai cheṭṭis plied a very brisk trade in horses. An epigraph of Vikrama Pāṇḍya from the Nāganāthasvāmin temple at Peraiyur, in the Pudukottai State, dated the 5th year notices horse dealers from Malai-Maṇḍalam.[9] Yet another record of Kōneriṉmaikoṇḍān (Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II) from Śrī Rangam in the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi district dated in the 11 + 3rd year mentions the gift of the village Kumāranambinallūr newly formed and named as such by the donor Kuḷamūkku Nāvāyaṉ Koṇḍa Nambi belonging to, the merchant guild of Malai-Maṇḍalam dealing in horses (*Kudirai-cheṭṭi*) for providing worship and offerings to God Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Perumāḷ at Tiruvarangam.[10]

We get a picturesque account of the social and political conditions of the Pāṇḍyan country from the writings of Marco Polo and the Muhammadan Historian Wassaf. Writing of Kāyal (Cail) the chief emporium of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom Marco Polo says "It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the West as from Hormos, and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about and so there is great business done in this city of Cail."[11] The horse trade of Kāyal was of considerable importance and a good part of the revenues of the Kingdom was spent on the purchase of horses for the king and the army. Marco Polo continues "Here are no horses bred, and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of Kis, Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destriers and other horses and these they bring to the territories of this king and of his four brothers for a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there every year. Indeed the king wants to buy more than 2000 horses."[12]

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[5] ARSIE, 1926, No. 182.
[6] S.I.I., IV, No. 514.
[7] ARSIE, 1936-37, Nos. 34 and 50.
[8] ARE, 1905, No. 201. (Texts).
[9] Ibid., 1907, No. 161.
[10] ARSIE, 1936-37, No. 77.

Wassaf's statements about this trade are even more specific and furnish interesting details "It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l-Islam Jamāluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity such as the Rukhs of Rustam etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia such as Katis, Lhasa, Bahrein, Hurmuz, and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 *dinars* of red gold (= 440 *saggi* of Polo) on the condition that if any horse should happen to die the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury."[13]

The waste of the country's wealth that Marco Polo speaks of was due not so much to the generous terms of the contract under which horses were imported as to the unfavourable climate of South India in which these horses could not thrive and the ignorance of the Indian horse keepers. Wassaf remarks: "It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter and boiled cow's milk to drink .... They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs in order that they may get fat, and afterwards without taking measures for training and without stirrups and other appurtences of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons .... In a shortime, the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless and stupid—In short they all become wretched and good for nothing .... There is, therefore a constant necessity of getting new horses annually.[14]

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[11] Travels of Marco Pōlo—Ed. by Yule and Cordier, Vol. II, p. 370.

[12] Ibid., p. 340.

[13] Eliot and Dowson; Vol. III (1871 edn.) p. 33. Wassaf also gives the total volume of the annual Indian import trade in horses as 10,000 animals worth 2,200,000 *dinars* and rather inconsistently adds that this amount was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples and from the tax upon courtesans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury.

Marco Polo confirms Wassaf and says "There is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often proved by trial"[15] and the "people do not know how to take care of them."[16]

From the epigraphical evidence that we have, it appears that the Kudirai-cheṭṭis, with their professional merchant guilds had their headquarters in Malai-Maṇḍalam (Travancore), and supervised the import of horses at ports in South India, during the 12th and the 13th centuries A.D.

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14. Ibid., p. 34.
15. Travels of Marco-Polo—Edited by Yule and Cordier, Vol. II, p. 342.
16. Ibid., p. 450.

Biramdeo Baghela[1]
Muqaddam of Gahora

BY

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In my paper on the 'Early History of the Baghela Dynasty of Rewa'[2] I have given the early genealogy of the family. The Baghelas would seem to have come into prominence as Thakurs of Gahorā (13 miles east of Karvi in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh) in the time of the Tughluq Sultans of Delhi. Vallāradeva, in all likelihood, rendered some service to Emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Ḍoāb possibly during the rebellions and was confirmed, according to tradition, by the Delhi Ṣultān as the Rājā of Gahorā. His grandson, Vīramadeva, was a warlike prince. The Tārikh-i-Muhammadī of Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī throws a flood of light on the career of this valiant prince. It not only corroborates the information furnished by the Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvyam, the oldest and the most authentic (16th century) family account of the Baghelas in Sanskrit but helps to push back the recorded history of the Baghelas by one century.

Malik Timur Khān-i Qirān had led several pioneering raids to (Bhatta) Gahorā from Awadh (Ajodhyā) and in the time of Sultan Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Iltutmis͟h, when Ulug͟h Khān Balban led an expedition against the mysterious 'Dalki wa Malki' in the land between Kaṛā and Kālinjar, the region was still a terra incognita to the Turks (1228). The curtain rises when Malizāda Maḥmūd (1390-1411), founder of the State of Muḥammadābād-Kālpī[3] sought to make his authority felt in the country between the Ken and the Bagain by punishing the chiefs of Sihuṅṛā and Simaunī. But the most powerful prince in the neighbourhood was Biramdeo Baghela, "Muqaddam of Gahorā", the illustrious ancestor of His Highness, the Bāndhavesh Mahārājā of Rewā (Vindhya Pradesh). Bīramdeo, according to tradition, had conquered Sihuṅṛā (Kāvya) on the one hand and the Pāth (highlands) north of the Kaimūr range on the other (Rewa State Ganealogies). Maḥmūd of Kālpī led two expeditions against Bīram who was "the Nīram of the Age," in the words of the Persian chronicler, and constituted a menace to the people of Kaṛā. With the advance guard led by his minister, Junaid Khān, Maḥmūd sacked Gahorā, the Baghela capital and plundered Arail and Prayāg taking the pilgrims of the holy place as captives. This shows that Prayāg was included in the Baghela dominions as early as the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century of the Christian era.

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[1] Paper submitted to the 14th Indian History Congress, Jaipur, 1951.

[2] Proceedings 13th Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1946.

[3] Vide my paper published in the Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Deccan) Vol. XXVII, No. 3—July 1953.

The State of Jaunpur had been founded during the same time as Kālpī and, under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, had matured into a powerful kingdom. Bīramdeo Baghela had apparently allied himself to Jaunpur for in 1413 we find him playing a prominent part in the expedition to Kālpī, led by the Sharqī Sultan, against Qādir Shāh (1411-32), son and successor of Maḥmūd. Ibrāhīm occupied Mahobā, Rāth and Shāhpur and deputed Bīramdeo Baghela, along with his own minister and muster-master, to the siege of the impregnable fortress of Erachh. When the operations commenced, Bīramdeo, along with another officer, was posted at the River Gate of the fortress with the fall of which the whole of Kālpī State lay prostrate before the invader. Qādir Shāh, however, managed to save the capital by accepting the vassalage of Jaunpur.

Bīramdeo was a contemporary of Rāi Tās, the powerful Bais chief of Dhundiā-Kherā (Unāo, Rai Bareli and Lucknow districts of Uttar Pradesh), the grandfather of the celebrated Tilokchand of Baksar. The Baghela House soon contracted marriages with the Bais chiefs on one hand and the Gharwārs of Kantit (Mirzāpur District) on the other. By the end of the 15th century, they emerged as leaders of the great Rajput rising in support of the losing Hussain Shāh Sharqī against the conquering Buhlūl Lodī of Delhi. The founder of this power, in a way, was Bīramdeo. Bīramdeo had eighteen sons and is credited with the digging of the Padmākara lake in Gahorā. Leaving his son, Narharideva, he breathed his last on the bank of the Gaṅgā (Arail?). His kingdom extended from Chitrakūt to Kantit and from the Jamunā-Gaṅgā to the source of the Tons (Kaimur), if not beyond.

Mewar and the Turkish Invaders of India

BY

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Western India on the eve of Ghaznavid Invasions: Wars between Mewar, Malwa, Gujrat and Sambhar:

During the last quarter of the 10th century when the Ghaznavids had begun their invasions of Northern India and Śakti Kumār was occupying the throne of Méwār, * our country was a loose confederation of Rajput states always fighting among themselves. With the decline of the Pratihār power of Kanauj the last constructive effort of Hinduism in upper India was destroyed and the forces making for disintegration and anarchy multiplied. Ruled in bits by various Rajput clans India presented the spectacle of a house divided against itself. The Rajputs failed to unite the country under one common banner, nor could they guard the passes on the North Western frontier. The political disunity added to the rigid caste system and the prevailing conservatism prevented the growth of nationalism in the country. The powerful Rajput rulers, possessing extensive territories and immense resources would care more for the safety of their own states than for the common good of the whole nation. None can doubt their physical valour, courage and local patriotism but perhaps the idea of founding one supreme national government of the Hindus never seem to have appealed to the Rajput mind. The Rajputs had, as they still have, the virtues and the weaknesses of clansman. They were brave and chivalrous; devoted to their clan and the chief. But beyond their chief their loyalty did not go. The Rajput Rajas might combine temporarily against an external enemy; but their family pride and jealousy made a permanent union among them impossible. Their feudalistic and centrifugal tendencies and their blind faith in the dead ritualistic religion current during those days of Brahman supremacy so divided the whole Hindu society that the people remained indifferent to national interests and failed to co-operate with the ruling clans even at the critical junctures in the life of the nation. These defects were fatal to the Hindu cause when wave after wave of the Turkish invasion swept over the country.

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* The Aitpur Praśasti of his times is dated 977 A.D. The genealogy of the early Guhilot kings of Mewar given in this inscription is the most perfect and authentic. Sakti Kumàr was the 20th king from Guhadutta, the founder of the state and the clan.

Till almost the end of the 10th century the Indian rulers enjoying exemption from foreign invasion and freedom from control by a paramount power, were at liberty to do what they pleased. From some causal references by the 'Praśastikāras' and the works of the later period, though often vitiated at places by incorrect dates etc., we learn that the Parmārs of Mālwā under Muṇj, conquered the citadel of Chitor, and devastated Karnāt, Chaul, Lāt and Tripuri, the capital of the Chédis.[1] The acquisition of Northern parts of Gujrat by Chālukya prince Mularāj about 960 A.D. brought him into rivalry with the Parmārs, both of Mālwā and Ābu. Dharni Varāhā Parmār, his contemporary at Ābu was attacked and compelled to seek shelter with Rāstrakuta Raja Dhaval of Hastikundi.[2] Thus a beginning was made of a long and well matched rivalry between Mālwā and Gujrat which lasted almost till the end of the 12th century. But the advance of Mularāj in Rajputana inflamed the Chahmān Rajas Singh Rāj (c. 956-63) and his son and successor Vigrah Rāj II (c. 973) who were though engaged in their fights with the Tomaras of Torāvāti, could not tolerate the expansion of this new power of the Chālukyas, Vigrah Rāj in 974 A.D. attacked Mularāj of Anhilwārā, who retired before him to Kanthkot.[3]

Taking advantage of the political situation and internecine warfare the Guhilots of Médpāt in the later half of the 10th century found opportunity once again to secure their independence by repudiating the Pratihār overlordship. But her position and prospects as a sovereign state were jeopardised by the rise of three powerful rival kingdoms in western India, viz., the Chalukyas of Anhilwārā, the Parmārs of Mālwā and the Chahmāns of Śākambhari which sprang upon the ruins of the Kanauj Empire. Surrounded on all sides by these warring dynasties Mewar became a bone of contention and served as a battlefield for their mutual wars. For want of adequate information we are not in a position to know how exactly these fights of the rival Rajput states bordering Mewar affected her fortunes. The task before Saktikumar was no less arduous, and but for his political sagacity and military resources, Mewar would have succumbed to one or the other of the invading armies which ravaged practically the whole of western India. But this much must be admitted as H. C. Ray also remarks that "The early attempts of the Médpāt branch to secure sovereign position were speedily frustrated by the growing strength of these powers."[4]

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[1] E.I. Vol. I. p. 236 v. 14.

[2] E.I. Vol. X. p. 17-24.

[3] Hammirmahakavya S. 1; Prithviraj Vijeymahakavya S. 5 verses 47-52; Forbes: Rasmala p. 38; Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, p. 159.

It was on this India that the avalanche of the Turkish attacks from the North-west broke, and the supremely difficult task of championing the cause of resisting it fell upon the Rajputs, dissipated by mutual rivalry and feuds. Yet they fought strenuously against the aliens, with failures generally, but not as fruitlessly as is usually supposed.

2. *Śakti Kumār of Mewar joins Jaipāl against Subuktigin.*

King Jaipāl of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty who ruled over a part of Afghanistan and the whole of the Punjab, being overwhelmed by the aggressive attacks of the nascent Turkish power under Subaktigin of Ghazni and finding himself unequal to the task of defending his country single-handed evoked assistance from his brother Rajput rulers of the neighbouring states. It seems probable that Śakti Kumār, the then ruler of Mewar which was fast rising to a position of importance, took part in the first confederacy of the Hindu kings convened by the Punjab ruler against the Turkish invader in 989 A.D. This hypothesis is supported by the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D. which says that Śakti Kumār destroyed the enemies of religion, terrible like Daityas.[5] It is a plain reference to the Muhammadans.[6] Although the inference is not supported by any contemporary Muslim authority, it seems nevertheless probable for this Mewar prince had no other occasion to fight Musalman Turks, 'the enemies of Dharma.'

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[4] H. C. Ray: DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1161.

[5] Bhawnagar Ins. p. 74-77, verse 46.

[6] The same is the interpretation of Mr. C. V. Vaidya-vidya, HMHI, Vol. III p. 154.

3. *Successors of Shaktikumar: Their Activities.*

In Mewar Śakti Kumār did not seem to survive for long the disaster suffered by this confederate army at the hands of Subaktigin's hordes. It is noteworthy that of his five sons, namely Ambā Prasād, Śuchivarma, Ananta Varmā, Narvarmā and Kirti Varmā, each one of them with the exception of Ananta Varmā, succeeded him in quick succession. It is puzzling that the name of each one of these four princes has been omitted in one or the other of the four epigraphic records[7] giving the genealogy of the Guhilots of Mewar. Thus the name of Ambā Prasād has been omitted in the Ābu and the Raṇpur inscriptions and one might have altogether excluded this strange name from the list of these Guhilot rulers but for its mention in the Chitor inscription of 1274 composed by Véd Śarmā who also composed the Ābu Praśasti. Similarly Śuchivarmā is not mentioned in the list of Mewar rulers in the Kumbhalgarh record, though the name appears in all the other three stones from Chitor, Ābu and Raṇpur. Again Raṇpur inscription leaves out Narvarmā altogether and gives the name of Kirti Varmā directly after Śuchivarmā; whereas Chitorgarh inscription stops with Narvarmā and makes no mention of Kirtivarmā, whom Kumbhalgarh list writes as Yeshovarmā, 'Yasha' being a synonym for 'Kirti' both meaning 'fame.'

However, on the basis of sound epigraphic evidence it can be asserted that they were all sons of Śakti Kumār and princes of great repute and their reigns though short, must have been quite eventful for, these were the times when Western India was the scene of great disturbances owing to the internecine wars of the Chalukyas of Gujrāt, Parwārs of Mālwā and the Chauhāns of Śākambhari. Not only that Northern India during this very period witnessed the greatest calamity when Mahmud began the long series of his plundering raids, the first in c. 999 and the last in 1026 entering India no less than seventeen times in these twenty eight years. 'Each winter he descended into the fertile plains of Hindustan, filled his treasure chests with spoils and amused his men with full freedom to pillage and kill the idolators; each spring he returned to his capital richer than before leaving in his wake fire, rapine, pillage and ruin wherever he went.'

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[7] Chitor Ins. of 1274 A.D. (Bhawnagar Ins. p. 75-77). Abu Ins. of 1285 A.D. (Ind. Anti. Vol. 16, p. 349). Kumbhalgarh Prasasti (Viv Vinad Vol. I Appendix). Ranpur Jain Temple Ins. of 1439 A.D. (Bhawnagar Ins. p. 114-15).

By these two great factors Mahmud's expeditions and the wars among the three aforesaid Rajput powers of Western India, Mewar could not have remained altogether unaffected. Very little no doubt is as yet known about the activities of the sons and successors of Śakti Kumār, but it can very well be conjectured that everyone of them must have measured swords with one enemy or the other. The disturbed nature of the period can very well be judged by the paucity of contemporary historical records as well as by the comparatively short average of 12 years for the reign of each of Śakti Kumār's successors who ruled during the 11th century of the Christian era. An undated inscription[8] of the days of Ambā Prasād though mutilated informs that he married a princess of Chālukya family who were then, as we know, the avowed enemies of the Chahmāns of Sambhar. Perhaps for this relationship with the Chālukyas or for any other political and strategic reasons Vākpati Rāj II (1003 A.D.) the Chahman prince of Sambhar invaded Āghāṭapur or Āhara, routed the Mewar forces; and struck Ambā Prasād with his own dagger on the face and killed him.[9] In the event of his premature end, his younger brother Śuchivarmā was raised on the throne. A portion of the stone record of his days, recovered from the staircase of the temple of Hastamātā at Āhara describes him to be a son of Śakti Kumār, 'grave like ocean, bestower of gifts like Karan and proficient like Siva in destroying the foes.'[10]

Among Śuchivarmā's more notable contemporaries were Sindhu Rāj of Malwa (1007 A.D.) and Chāmund Rāj of Gujrat (c. 997-1009). The former as testified by Navshasānka Chritra' carried his arms against a Hun prince and attacked Kośala or Dakshin-Kośala (i.e. the Kalāchuries of Tummāna), the Chālukyas of Lāt and other neighbouring territories of Bāgaḍ and Muralwāla. But by 1009 A.D. he was attacked and killed by Chāmund Rāj of Gujrat and was succeeded by his son Bhoja, the most striking and versatile Parmār ruler whose reign lasted from 1010 to 1055 A.D. In Gujrat, Chāmund Raj's successor Vallabha in 1009 A.D. once again set out to invade Malwa,[11] but he died on the way and was succeeded by Durlabh who reigned till 1021 A.D., the year when his younger brother's son Bhima Déva came to the throne of Gujrat. At Sambhar Vākpati Raj II who had attacked and killed Ambā Prasād, was succeeded by Virya Ram who continued to rule till about 1030 A.D. We do not know with certainty whether Śuchivarmā joined or not the second confederacy of the Rajput rulers of Northern India convened by Jaipal's son and successor Anand Pal of Lahore in 1009 against Mahmud of Ghazni, nor do we know how exactly his reign terminated. But as he too was succeeded by his younger brother Narvarmā, he must have died about the middle of the second decade of the 11th century, comparatively at young age, without leaving a male issue to succeed him. Thus, either Śuchivarmā or his brother Narvarmā was on the throne of Mewar when in 1025 A.D. Mahmud started for his last expedition, the most fruitful in plunder and the most memorable of all his exploits, against the renowned temple of Somnath in the Peninsula of Kathiawar.

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[8] Ojha: Hist. of Raj. Vol. I p. 438.
[9] Prithvirāj Vijayamahākāvya S. 5. Verses 58-60.
[10] Bhawnagar Ins. p. 22-24.

4. *Mahmud's March Through Rajputana.*

On October 18th, 1025 as the Muslim authors[12] declare, Mahmud started from Ghazni and reached Multan on the 9th of the following November. There he took some rest and put his forces in order. Taking water and corn on 30000 camels he started on the 26th of the same month for Anhilwārā the capital of the Gujrat princes. Passing through the desert he came across the stronghold of Lodorvā (Ludrevā) in Jaisalmér which he stormed. A few days' tedious march from thence through the sandy tracts of Mārwār brought him near 'Garh Beetli (Ajmer), which was then a strategic hill fortress in the possession of Virya Ram, the Chahman ruler of Śākambhari. Rajput traditions[13] declare that the Turks besieged it but in the encounter that ensued Mahmud got wounded and so raising the siege resumed his march. Avoiding the hilly regions of the Aravallis he seems to have marched through the eastern plains of Mewar,[14] which he traversed to reach Anhilwara by the end of December 1025. As every big or small fortified place on his route was invested and every Hindu temple was demolished by his men, it is quite likely that forts like Chitor and Hindu cities like Nāgdā and Āhara in Mewar must not have been spared by his attacking sword. Of course no specific mention of the fight of the Guhilots with the Turks of Mahmud is as yet avaiable, yet it seems a great probability, in view of the geographical considerations which determine Mahmud's route to Gujrat. Tod who derives his information mostly from local bardic annals and oral traditions deserves all credence when he writes a passage which can rightly be interpreted to mean that Mahmud did pass through Chitor and Ahara or Aitpur, which places he looted and destroyed. The original passage runs thus: "From the effects of these (Mahmud's) incursions she (India) never recovered; for though she obtained a respite of a century between Mahmud and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear, the temples of Somnath of Chitor and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of the past times. The memorials of Sakti Kumar proves him to have been the contemporary of Soobaktigin and to one of his son's visitation is attributed the destruction of the city of the Sun (Aitpur), his capital".[15] These lines of Col. Tod confirm our assertion that either 'Śuchivarmā or Narvarmā must have fought Mahmud in defence of his capital and the sacred shrines of his realm. Even it will not be improper to say that the Mewar ruler seems to have staked his own life in facing the Turkish soldiers of Mahmud. This seems to explain the fact that once again the premature and abrupt end of the ruler led to the succession of his younger brother.

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[11] Vadnagar Frasasti Epi. Ind. Vol. I, p. 293.
[12] Ibn ul asir: Al-Kamil fit Tawarikh IX p. 241-42.
[13] B. N. Reu: Bharat ke Prācheen Rāj Vamsha Vol. I, p. 233.

A further proof of Mahmud's march through Mewar and his engagements with the Guhilot rulers of the region can be sought in the following arguments which go to prove that Parmār Raja

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[14] Local traditions in Ajmer Merwara state that from Ajmer Mahmud proceeded to the village of Baghérā (in the Kékri District of Ajmer) where a great temple of Ādi varahā was destroyed by him. The village is also known as 'Vārāhāji kā gaon' and a renovated temple of Varaha still exists there. Varāhā temples are, of course, rare in Rajputana.

[15] Tod. Vol. I, p. 287.

Bhoja of Dhār at the time of this expedition was residing at the citadel of Chitor and fought there the attacking Turks of Mahmud on their way to Anhilwārā. It may be recollected that Chitor and its surrounding lands since Munja's acquisition of it in the last quarter of the 10th century remained under the possession of Malwa for more than a century till its annexation by the Chālukya Raja Jaisingh Sidha Rāj of Gujrāt. Hence, when in the early part of Bhoja Parmar's reign lasting from 1010 to 1055 A.D. the Chālukya attacks on Malwa were renewed more vigorously under Bhima Déva I (1021-63), who is even reported to have captured Dhar the Parmar capital just after 1021 A.D. Bhoja, also known as 'Tribhuvan Nārāin,[16] shifted his residence during these days of adversity to Chitor and stayed there for a considerable time. His stay at Chitor is also confirmed by the fact that he erected there a temple of 'Tribhuvan Nārāin' or 'Bhoja Swāmi' which is referred to in the Chirwā[17] and Chitor[18] inscriptions of the days of Rāwal Samar Singh dated 1273 and 1301 A.D. respectively. Moreover Tirth-Kalpa of Jinprabha Suri[19] and Délwārā Jain temple inscription of 1321 A.D.[20] when studied together declare that Dhundhuk, the Parmār Raja of Chandrāvati (Ābu) who incurred the displeasure of his overlord Bhima Déva of Gujrat by his refractory attitude, being defeated and driven out by the latter sought shelter with Raja Bhoja of Dhār at Chitor. Sometimes later he was reconciled to Bhima and was reinstated at Ābu by the efforts of Vimal-Shāh, who was appointed as 'Daṇḍpati' of the place by Bhima in Dhundhuk's absence. Vimal Shāh, the Prāgvāt or Porwār Minister recalled Dhundhuk from Chitor where he was staying with Bhoja Parmār of Mālwā, and with his permission erected the Ādināth Jain Temple at Délwārā in 1031 A.D. Thus it becomes an established fact that Bhoja Parmér of Mālwā was residing at Chitor between the years 1021 and 1031 A.D. The Udépur Praśasti[21] refers to Bhoja's fight with the Musalmans. It was in 1025 A.D.

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[16] Nāgari P. Patrikā (N.S.) pt. 3, p. 1, 18.

[17] Vienna Oriental Journal Vol. 21 p. 143 verses 27, 30 and 31.

[18] Nāgari P. Patrikā Pt. I, p. 413 and ft. note 57.

[19] Also called Vividha Tirtha Kalpa—Published by the Singhi Jain Granth Mālā, Shānti Nikétan, p. 16.

[20] Abu Ins. (Unpublished) verses 5 to 11.

[21] E.I. Vol. I, p. 235.

when the Turks of Mahmud invested Chitor that Bhoja measured swords with them. Modern scholars so far have failed to explain correctly this reference to Bhoja's fight with the 'Turuskas' or the Turks. Capt. C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele in their book 'Parmars of Dhar and Malwa' while elucidating this reference pointed out that Bhoja seems to have joined one or the other of the two confederacies convened by the Lahore rulers in the years 989 and 1009 A.D. But such an assertion is obviously incorrect since Bhoja came on the throne not before 1010 A.D. Again, in their eagerness to explain Bhoja's fight with the 'Turuskas' they miscalculated that the Raja who advanced to block Mahmud's return march from Somnath in 1026—often mentioned by Ferishta and others as Parmadeva or Varmadeva, was Raja Bhoja. But now we know for certain that it was not Bhoja but Virya Ram or Viramdev, the Chahman King of Sambhar. Thus if Bhoja at all had fought the Musalmans it can only be at Chitor in 1025 A.D. where he was residing when Mahmud invested it enroute to Anhilwārā. This clearly established that Mahmud passed through Mewar fighting Bhoja at Chitor and one of Śakti Kumār's sons most probably Narvarmā at Āhara which place he destroyed.

The Rajput chiefs of Rajputana who had been taken unawares by Mahmud took measures to unite their forces under the command of Virya Rām of Sāmbhar[22] for a concerted effort to block his passage back to Ghazni. This mighty coalition, it can well be judged, must have included the contingents of the Chauhans of Sambhar and Nādol, the Guhilots of Mewar and the Parmars of Abu and Malwa (i.e. of Bhoja then residing at Chitor). But Mahmud was wise enough to avoid a clash with them, as he did not wish to risk the rich booty he had with him. He, therefore, took a more westerly route and reached Multan through the marshy portion of Cutch and the desert of Sindh. Suffering great hardships at the hands of the Jats who inhabited that part of the country, the Sultan ultimately reached Ghazni on the 2nd April, 1026 A.D.

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[22] Dr. N. Nazim (in Mahmud of Ghazni, p. 119) calls him Parmadeva of Abu which is a mistake (see S.I.M.H., p. 237); Sir W. Haig (C.H.I., Vol III, p. 25) has cautiously omitted his name and merely stated that he was the Raja of Sambhar. Ferishta (T. F. Vol. I, p. 34) states that he was the Raja of Ajmer.

India, no doubt, felt the force of his arms and he was the first to carry the banner of Islam into the heart of the country and to tread the path in which so many followed him. But the results of his expeditions were far from permanent. The net result of his victories, so far as the territorial annexation was concerned, was the occupation of the Punjab and the portions of Sindh and Multan. Elsewhere, in northern India his rule did not take root in the places he conquered and the Rajputs soon after his death in 1030 A.D. re-established their hold and repaired the damages done to their cities and temples by this central Asian plunderer and iconoclast. Even among his sons and successors none was so adventurous as to repeat his experiment. Rather being engrossed in mutual wars of succession and threatened by the attacks of the Saljuk Turks, they lost one after the other, the portions of his far flung Asian Empire. In India their military activities, with the exception of one or two expeditions, remained almost confined to the Punjab where the Hindus revived their strength and began to recover as much as they could of their lost dominions.

Mubārak Shāh, 1421-1433

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Peaceful accession of Mubārak Shāh

A day after K͟hiẓr K͟hān's death on 17 Jamadi I, 824 (May 20, 1421), his son, Prince Mubārak K͟hān whom he had nominated as his successor two days before death, ascended the throne and assumed the title of Mul'izuddin Abul Faṭh Mubārak Shāh. He did not issue any coin till the 12th year of his reign[1] and continued paying tribute to the Tīmurid princes of Kābul for the possession of the Shaq of Lāhore,[2] which was, some years back, bestowed by Tīmūr on K͟hiẓr K͟hān. On his accession, the nobles, the chiefs, the Sayyids and the Qāzīs offered fealty to the new monarch. Their endowments were confirmed and in many cases increased. But the Shaqs of Hānsī and Fīrūzabād, were taken from Malik Rajab Nādira[3] and given to Malik-us-Sharq Malik Baddha, the (Sultān's) brother's son; and Malik Rajab, son of Malik Saddhū[4] got the fief of Dipālpūr instead. Soon after his accession, he had to devise measures to combat the situation, arising out of the rebellion of the Turk-bach-chas and the Khokhars in the Punjāb. It must be remembered that the Turk-bachchas, being hunted by the royal troops, took refuge with Jasrath, son of Shaik͟ha, the Khokhar chief.[5] Jasrath too came to a clash with the Sultān of Delhi.

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[1] H. N. Wright, Coinage and meterology of the Sultāns of Delhi, 239.
[2] Tār Mub Shāhī, 239.
[3] Tab Akb I, 271.
[4] Tār Mub Shāhī, 193.
[5] Ferishta I, Newalkishore, 163, calls him a brother of Shaik͟ha, and as such he has been the source of wrong identification for historians who depended on Ferishta.

Jasrath Khokhar rebels in the Punjāb

In Jamādi I, 823 /May 1420, Sultān 'Ali, king of Kashmīr, had invaded Tatta in Sind and on his way back to Kashmir, was attacked by Jasrath. His army was put to flight and he was taken prisoner. Being in possession of the Sultān of Kaṣhmir's entire camp, equipments and booty, his ambition soared high and he began to aspire for the mastery of Delhi.

Mubārak Shāh fights the Khokhars led by Jasrath.

Consequently as soon as he heard the news of K͟hiẓr K͟hān's death, he (Jasrath) captured Lāhore,[6] crossed the Sutlej and devastated Talwandi, held by Rāi Kamāl, the chief of the Mēn clan and drove that Zamindār across the Jumna. He then came to Ludhiāna which he sacked and carried his devastations upto Rūpar, and crossing the Sutlej again, he attacked Jullundar and laid siege to its fort held by Zirak K͟hān. The latter being out-numbered and out- generalled evacuated the fort which was given to Tug͟hān, the Turk-bach-cha. Jasrath, however treacherously captured Zirak K͟hān after a truce had been arranged on the bank of the Eastern Bain river.[7] On 20th Jamādi I, 824/May 22, 1421, Jasrath marched on Sirhind, which held out longer under Malik Sultān Shāh Lōdī, its governor, partly due to the stubbornness of the Pathān chief and partly due to the advantages of rainy weather. These developments so menacing to the existence of the Delhi kingdom, prompted the Sultān to march to the relief of Sirhind at the head of a large force defying the rains. When the royal force reached the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrath abandoned Sirhind, and retreated towards Ludhiāna, and when he was chased in Ludhiāna, he released Zirak K͟hān, crossed the Sutlej and encamped on the other side of the bank opposite Qabūlpūr. Crossing was difficult as the river was in flood and all boats had been requisitioned by Jasarath. Forty days later when the flood water subsided, the Sultān moved to Qabūlpūr, and the vanguard of his army under Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa, Maṣṇadi-i ʻĀlā Zirak Khān and Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan successfully forded the river in its upper reaches one dark night. After the Sultān had joined the advanced guards early next morning, the Delhi troops attacked Jasrath in force and put him to flight, and captured all his camps. Jasrath precipitately fled first, to Jallandar, and next crossed the Biās, the Rāvi and the Chenāb and took refuge in, I presume, the Pabbi hills.[8] Rāja Bhīm, the chief of Jammū, helped the royal forces crossing the Chenāb. Thakkar,[9] his strongest "hill redoubt", on the Chenab bank, was invested and many of his adherents found in the hills were slaughtered. From Thakkar which could not be captured, the Sultān returned to Lahōre, (in Muharram 825/Dec., 1421), a desolate city "un-inhabited by any living creature except the owl."[10] He halted there for a month supervising re-habilitation, constructing buildings, repairing the fort, particularly its Rāvi Gate. Leaving Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, with two thousand cavalry in charge of Lāhore, the Sultān came back to the capital.

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[6] Ferishta Newalkishore I, 163.

[7] Tab I, 212, has Main, Maasīr-i Raḥīmī I, 'Pain'. The Eastern Bain rises near Gaṛh Shankar, and after a course through the Tahsil, turns north and meanders, along the Jallandar border I.G. XIII, 132, 192, XIV, 212; Hodivala, Studies, 203.

Jasrath comes back from his refuge and invests Lāhore, 1421 A.D.

No sooner had the back of the royal army been turned, than Jasrath crossed the Chenāb (Jamadi, II, 825), and the Rāvi with a huge following, came to Lāhore and laid siege to its mud fort, for 35 days, by encamping himself at the shrine of Shaikh-ul Mashāikh, Ḥusain Zinjānī.[11] Though hurled back for a time across the Rāvi by Maḥmūd Ḥasan, he re-appeared with more re-inforcements. A fierce battle was fought after a 35 days' siege of the Fort.

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[8] Tār Mubārak Shāhī and other histories have 'kūh' only.

[9] Thakkar in Phalia Tahsil, Gujrat Distt, Punj, now about 13 miles from the western bank of the Chenāb. Map of the Survey of India, Sheet, 43. The name is also written as *Tahar*, Thānkar in Muslim Histories. Nizāmuddīn provides the correct reading viz., Thakkar.

[10] Tār Mub Shāhī 197.

[11] Acc to Abul Fazl, Āīn III, Jarrett, 33, and 362, notes, Sh. Ḥusain Zinjānī was a man of extensive erudition, and that Kh. Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī attended his lectures at Lāhore. His shrine at Lāhore is a spot of sanctity, 404. He is referred to also in Gulzār-i Abrār of Muḥammad Ghausi Mānduvī, A.S.B., Cal. Ms,

Jasrath put to flight but defeat is not decisive

Jasrath was defeated and forced to retreat to Kalānaur. Rāi Bhīm, the Jammū chief, himself at his wits' end due to the incursion of the Khokhars, and apprehensive of their growing power, came to assist the royalist troops under Maḥmūd Ḥasan once more, and fought Jasrath, who seems to have entrenched himself meanwhile, without any decisive results. A truce was arranged for the month of Ramaẓān and Jasrath retired towards the Biās, obviously to mobilize the Khokhars. Meanwhile, when the royal army under Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa arrived with re-inforcements from Delhi and reached the Bohī Fort, Jasrath retreated without a fight across the Rāvi and the Chenāb and came to the Thakkar hills.[12] Malik Sikandar came back to Lāhore (12th Shawwāl, 825/Sept. 29, 1422) and received a very warm ovation from its citizens.

The royal troops attack but fail to storm Kalānaur held by Jasrath.

A detachment of the royal army under Malik Rajab, Governor of Dipālpūr, Malik Sultānshāh Lōdī, Governor of Sirhind, and Rāi Fīrūz Mēn, was sent to Kalānaur, across the Rāvi, and as usual, was re-inforced by Rāi Bhīm's men on the Jammū border. The defences of the Kalānaur Fort proved too strong for the attackers and the huge army, probably at the approach of the rains, retired after slaying a few stragglers from Jasrath's party.[12a] The Sultān gave vent to his displeasure by transferring Malik Maḥmūd from the governorship of Lāhore to that of Jallandar, whereas the governorship of Lāhore was conferred on Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa, hitherto the Wazīr. This necessitated a re-distribution of offices. Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk, the Police Prefect (Shaḥna) of the metropolis, was made Wazīr, whereas the Police Prefecture was invested on the new Wazīr's son.

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[12] The puzzle of 'the Thakkar hills' I have not been able to solve to my satisfaction. Thakkar in Phalia Tahsil, Gujrat District, which I found out in Survey of India Map. Sheet 43, is situated on the northern bank of the Chenab, and conforms in almost every detail, with the situation given by Muslim historians. But one thing; apart from the fact that it is within about 3 miles of the river bank, it is in the plains, rather in the ravine, and not on the hills, and cannot be taken as a hill redoubt, unless the interpretation of the word 'Kūh' is made rather loosely. As an instance I may cite Rāi Harsingh the Kather chief's flight to "the hills of Aonla". As there is no hill in and around Āonla, I have consistently rendered the hills into forests, or waste-lands. In the case of Thakkar too some such thing has been meant. I am not prepared to accept Haig's interpretation that he fled to the Salt Range, which is situated mainly on the northern bank of the Jhēlum. No where is there an indication of the Khokhar chief crossing the Jhelum. The hill of the Muslim historians, if it is to be literally interpreted, can only be the Pabbi Ranges situated on the southern bank of the Jhēlum.

Jasrath kills Rāi Bhīm of Jammū, and is on the aggressive again 1423

In 827/1423, the Khokhar menace surged forth with redoubled momentum. In Jamādi of the same year, apparently after the retirement of the royal forces, Jasrath had engaged his antagonist, Rāi Bhīm (Singh) of Jammū, had him defeated and slain, and captured most of his horses and equipments.[13] Having thus strengthened his position, he fell on Lahore and Dīpālpūr with twelve thousand of his kinsmen, and a contingent of Mug̱hal mercenaries. The attempt proved abortive and he was easily beaten back across the Chenāb. Simultaneously with the news of the renewal of Khokhar attack, had come the report of the death of 'Alā-ul-Mulk, governor of Multān, and of an attack on Bakkhar and Siwistan (Sihwan) both in Sind by Shaik̲h̲ 'Ali'[14] Lt.-Governor of Kābul, (827/1423).

Mughal attack on Bakkhar and Siwistān, 830/1426

To secure the Delhi territories, from Mughal attack, the Sultān placed the Shaqs of Bakkhar and Siwistān in charge of Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan. The latter, on reaching his destination, repaired the fort destroyed by the Mug̲h̲als, mobilized a huge army, and conciliated the local people by grants and remission. It appears from the subsequent narratives that the Mug̲h̲als were driven back and Malik Maḥmūd was enabled to control the situation, and for a period of about four years, the western Provinces were free from disturbances. It was too long a period for Jasrath to nurse his wounds. In Zīqadh, 831/May 1428, Jasrath, following, it seems, the hilly tracts, invested Kalānaur. He offered battle to Malik-us-Sharq Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa, and forced him to fall back on Lāhore. Jasrath crossed the Biās and laid siege to Jallandar, but failing in his attempt, he retreated to Kalānaur which he had secured following the defeat of Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa. But before the arrival of re-inforcements from Delhi, Malik Sikandar fell on Jasrath at Kalānaur, being joined on the way, by Rāi G̲h̲alib, the chief of Kalānaur, ejected by Jasrath. In the battle which followed, Jasrath was defeated. He retreated to his redoubt of Thakkar, abandoning the booties, he brought from Jallandar.

[12a] Tār Mub Shāhī 198.

[13] Tab Akb. I, 274.

[14] Shaikh 'Ali Governor of Kābul', is wrongly identified by Yahya (Tar Mub 201) and Niẓāmuddīn (Tab Akb. I, 275,) as the son of Mirzā Sayurg̲h̲ātmish (son of Mirzā Shahruk̲h̲). Shaik̲h̲ 'Ali's father was Dānishmandchā, a son of Chug̲h̲tai, son of Tīmūr. Mirzā Sayurghātmish died in 830/1426. See also Hodivala, Studies, 405.

The Revolt of the Turk-bach-chas and renewed incursion of the Khokhars, 1429-30

In 833/1429, Malik Rajab Nādira succeeded Malik Maḥmūd Hasan as Governor of Jallandar, whereupon the Sultān transferred the Shaq of Multān to Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan conferring him the additional title of 'Imādul Mulk. A huge army accompanied him to Multān, for strengthening the border. It was at this time that fresh troubles were brewing up within the western provinces due to the revolt of the Turk-bach-chas, and the renewed activity of the Khokhars. The situation developed as follows. After the death of Sayyid Sālem of Amrōhā, who appears to have held the office of the Chief Qāẓī, the Sultān invested his eldest son with the title of Sālem K̲h̲ān, and the younger son was made 'Alā-ul-mulk. "Sayyid Sālem", says Ferishta,[15] "served his Majesty for 20 years, and held vast Jāgīrs in Bhatinda (Tabarhind), the Doāb and the K̲h̲itta of Sirsūtī and the 'iqtā' of Amrōhā. He was avaricious and had collected huge wealth, which only a king could, in the Tabarhind fort." The Sayyid's son refused to pay the king's share of the death duty, whereupon, in Shawwāl, 833/June 1430, Sayyid Sālem's sons instigated Fūlād, the Turkish slave of the family, to seize Bhatinda. After ordering the imprisonment of the Sayyid's sons, the Sultān deputed Malik Yusuf, a son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Rāi Hānsū Bhatti, (son of Kulchand or Dulchand)[16] against Fūlād, to bring the Sayyid's hoards. The royal army was subjected to a surprise attack while negotiations for a truce were being conducted, and driven towards the Sirsuti with the loss of the entire baggage and equipment. At this the Sultān led an army personally, the other generals following his suite being Islām Kh̲ān Lodi, Majlis-i 'Ālā Zirak Kh̲ān, Malik Kālū, Malik Kamāl Kh̲ān, and Malik-us-Sharq 'Imād-ul-Mulk (Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan). At this Fūlād sent proposals for the surrender of Tabarhind to Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan alone. But the Sultān suspecting treachery, ordered close siege, and came back to the metropolis 834/1430 quite sanguine of success.

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[15] Newalkishore I, 166.

Fulād implores the assistance of Shaikh̲ 'Alī of Kābul and offers vassalage, 834/1430

After the siege had lasted six months, Fūlād implored the assistance of Shaikh̲ 'Alī of Kābul[17] by sending agents with cash and presents. Shaikh̲ 'Alī moved for Fūlād's assistance in Jamādi II, 834/Feb. 1431, and was joined on the bank of the Jhēlum by 'Ainuddīn Khokhar, Abul Kh̲air Khokhar and his nephew, and Amīr Kh̲wājiga, Governor of Shorkot. When the invading army appeared within 20 miles of Tabarhind, Islām Kh̲ān and his colleagues, abandoned the siege and fell back. Fūlād joined his allies by coming out of the fort and making a present of 2 lacs of tankas. He crossed the Biās and plundered the villages of Jallandar, and crossing the Sutlej again, he marched on Lāhore. At the approach of the Turkish and Mughāl hordes, Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa "made the presents he used to offer each year, during the past."[18] The city seems to have been spared on this occasion.

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[16] Hānsū acc. to Badaonī I, 388, Yahyā identifies him as Rāi Hinū Zulji Bhatti, probably following Abu Tālib's Malfuzāt. Sharfuddīn 'Alī Yazdī, Ẓafar Nāma, Bib Ind, has Zulchain which has been converted by modern historians into Dulchand, or Kulchand.

[17] Abdul Bāqī, Maasīr-i Raḥīmī, I, 414 correctly identifies him as the "naib of the son of Mirzā Sayurghātmish".

The Mughals of Shaikh 'Alī lay waste the whole country from Jallandar to Lāhore and Dipālpūr (Montgomery Dist.) 834/1403

The Mughals came to Dipālpūr, via. Qasūr and alighted at Tilwāṛā[19] and pillaged the country-side for 20 days. 'Imād-ul-Mulk took the field against Shaikh 'Alī from Multān, and encamped at Talamba.[20] Shaikh 'Alī beat a retreat across the Rāvi with 'Imad-ul Mulk upon his heels. Shaikh 'Alī continued the retreat, and crossed the Sutlej, and according to the historian, even Biās. 'Imād-ul-Mulk fell back without proceeding further ahead. Or it may be that the royal army did not fare well in the encounters, as is faintly indicated by the admission of the court historian when he says that Shaikh 'Alī "proud of his success, ravaged the parganas on the bank of the Chenāb",[21] and appeared within 20 miles of the Multān city.[22]

Multān is held by Malik Maḥmūd against determined Mughal attack

Sultān Shāh son of Bahrām Lōdī, having been deputed by Malik Maḥmūd, to stem the tide of invasion was defeated on 3rd Ramazan, 824/8th Jan. 1421, so that the royal army was hurled back within the city walls of Multān. The city itself defied all attacks due to spirited resistance offered by Malik Maḥmūd's men. Meanwhile a mighty relieving army, under Majlis-i 'Alā Khān 'Āzam Fatḥ Khān, son of Sultān Muẓaffar Gujrātī, Majlis-i 'Ālā Zirak Khān, Malik Kālū, Khān 'Āzam Islām Khān, Malik Yusuf, son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Kamāl Khān, and Rāi Hānsū Bhattī, starting for Multān on 26th Ramazān, encamped at the 'Īdgāh of Multān. On the 3rd Ziqadh (834) Aug. 26, 1431, Shaikh 'Alī met his attackers by arranging his army in solid squares. The Royalists attacked from the centre and the flanks, the attacks being opened simultaneously from all sides. The enemy was routed and in the words of the historian[23] "in such a fashion that he never turned his face."Shaikh 'Alī sheltered himself in a strong defensive position (in between the Chenāb and Jhēlum) and when it became untenable, he crossed the Jhēlum, leaving most of his men to be killed or drowned, including his Hājib-i Khāṣ (i.e., Private Chamberlain). Shaikh 'Alī with a handful of guards managed to cross the river along with Amīr Muẓaffar and his nephew and took refuge in Shorkot, which still formed a part of the Timurid dominions, abandoning all his horses, equipments and camp in enemy hands. It was a decisive victory in the sense that it spared India an early Mughal occupation. According to the annalist,[24] "the enemy army reached such a state that none had the power to fly or fight, as if you would say, that all went at one time within the hole of death" Shaikh 'Alī fled to Kābul. Sultān Mubārak Shāh most unwisely, took away the Shaqs of Multān and its vicinity, from 'Imad-ul-Mulk Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan and gave them to Malik Khair-uddīn Khānī. This administrative change, according to Badāoni,[25] led to greater disturbances on the border of Multān. Ferishta[26] attributes this shift, to the fear of the power acquired by the 'Imād-ul-Mulk through his recent successes against the Mughals.

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[18] Tār Mub 216.

[19] Ranking, Badauni, Tr., identifies it as the village of Talwāṛā on the right bank of the Chenāb opposite the town of Riāsī, at 74.52 N. Lat and 33.6 East Long.

[20] Talamba lies at 52 miles N.E. by N. of Multān, at Lat 30.22. N. and 72.18E. acc. to Thornton.

[21] Maasīr-i Raḥīmī, I. 421.

[22] Tab Akb. I, 282.

Jasrath is active again and carries depredation in Jallandar and vicinity.

The Mughal invasion, coupled with the rebellion of the Turk-bach-chas, gave Jasrath the opportunity, he was after. He mobilized a big force and emerged from his hill retreat, crossed the Chenāb, and the Rāvī and came to Jallandar after taking Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa, Governor of Lahore, a prisoner and forcing the remnants of his troops to take refuge in Jallandar Fort. He then invested the Lāhore Fort, in charge of Malik Najmuddīn, a deputy of Malik Sikandar and his slave Malik Khush-Khabr.

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[23] Tār Mub Shāhī 221.
[24] Tār Mub Shāhī, 222.
[25] Royal A. S. B. Text, I, 295.
[26] Newalkishore I, 167.

Shaikh 'Alī invades the Punjāb a third time via. Multān border.

The engagements of the Delhi forces with the Khokhars, prompted Shaikh 'Alī to attempt an invasion of India for the third time. Emerging from Kābul through the Multān frontier, he came to Khatpur,[27] on the bank of the Jhēlum, leaving nothing but fire and destruction behind him. On 17th Rabi I, he seized Talamba,[28] imprisoning its leading men, and subsequently the Talamba fort. He took captive, laments the chronicler,[29] "sparing neither the Sayyids nor the Qāzīs. He took away, whatever belonged to the women, youth or children. The Talamba fort, the fairest of its kind in the whole world, was razed to the ground". During this period Fulād Turk-bach-cha too moved from Tabarhind, and plundered Rāi Fīrūz's estates and killed him in action. The concerted moves of the Mughals, Khokhars and the Turk-bach-chas, did not leave the court in any doubt that they were confederates. On a grave occasion like this the Sultān himself took the initiative in mobilizing an army, and deputed Malik Sarwar as the vanguard to Lāhore, whereupon Jasrath raised the siege and retired to the Thakkar hills.[30] While the royal army moved to Multān, Shaikh 'Alī shy of an open fight, retreated to Balot.[31] Pretending to secure the western Provinces from attack and internal disturbance, the Sultān took away Lāhore from 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and gave it to Khān-i 'Aẓam, Naṣrat Khān Gurg-andāz. But scarcely had the royal army turned its back, than Jasrath emerged from the hills, the same year, 835/1431 and carried raids, as usual, into the Delhi territories.

[27] Tār Mub Shāhi 219. Hodivala 408, identifies it with Khaṭpūr (Khatibpur of the text) of the 'Aīn-i Akbarī. It was the chief place of the northern-most Mahāls of Multān Suba, in Bāri-Doāb. 'Āīn Jarrett II, 329-30. Sir Edw. Maclagan, says that Khatpur is now an insignificant village a few miles west of Sarā-i Siddhū through which the Rāvī now runs. J.A.S.B., LXX, 1901, p. 5.

[28] See fn. No. 20 of this chapter. ..ār Mub Shāhī 224.

[29] Tār Mub Shāhī 224.

[30] Tār Mub Shāhī, 225.

[31] In Dera Ismail Khan District, on the bank of the India.

Again the Turk-bach-chas, the Khokhars, and Mughals move in concert; fourth Mughal invasion, 1432 A.D.

Early during the next year, 836/1432, Mubārak Shāh ordered Malik Sarwar to take the field against Fulād Turk-bach-cha, who had again opened an assault on the Tabarhind fort. The Sultān deputed Malik Ilahdād Kālā Lōdi with a force to take charge of the governorship of the Shaq of Lāhore, in supersession of Malik Naṣrat, Khān-i 'Azam. He engaged Jasrath near Jallandar and drove him to Bajwāra. The Sultān sent a relieving force under 'Imād-ul-Mulk to Tabarhind when he learnt that Shaikh 'Alī had moved a fourth time to invade the Punjāb in support of his confederates. Meanwhile Shaikh 'Ali had advanced towards Lāhore after crossing the Chenāb, pillaging and destroying everything on his line of march. He besieged Malik Yusuf and Malik Ismā'il (brother of Maṣnad-i 'Ālā Zirak Khān) in Lāhore Fort.[32] The defenders abandoned the city after a stout resistance and retreated towards Dipālpūr. Shaikh 'Ālī destroyed the fort, (repaired a few years ago after its destruction by the Khokhars) plundered the city, making captives of men and women. Yahya writes in reproach that Shaikh 'Alī 'did not know anything better than destroying the Dar-ul-Islam, and making captives of Muslims'.[33]

Shaikh 'Alī conquers Lāhore and ravages the Punjab from one end to the other.

Shaikh 'Alī constructed the Lāhore fort anew, from its foundation, and leaving a garrison of two thousand men, he turned towards Dīpālpūr and forced Ismā'īl and Malik Yusuf to vacate it. 'Imādul Mulk deputed his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhind for the relief of Dīpālpūr.[34] Shaikh 'Alī, avoiding an engagement, turned east, plundered and occupied Sāmānā and Sunām and Talwandī (near Lāhore). The Sultān was joined by Malik Kamāluddīn, 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān in the vicinity of Dīpālpūr. Upon this, Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Chenāb in force, and passed on to Kābūl, leaving a strong garrison at Shorkot (Jhang Distt., Jech-

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[32] Tār Mub Shāhī, 228.
[33] Tār Mub Shāhī, 228.
[34] Tār Mub Shāhī, 228.

Doab). The Sultān conferred the title of Shams-ul-Mulk on Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa, just released from Jasrath's captivity, and gave him the 'Iqtas' of Dīpālpūr and Jallandar.

The Sultān marches on Shorkot and occupies it.

The Sultān himself proceeded towards Shorkot, to deprive Shaikh 'Alī of a stepping stone for a future invasion. When the royal army crossed the Chenāb near Talamba, Shaikh 'Alī retreated without an encounter. Many of his equipments, horses and boats were captured. Amīr Muẓaffar, nephew of Shaikh 'Alī (brother's son) sued for peace after a month's resistance, and gained it by sending his daughter with a magnificent dowry, to be wedded to Prince Muḥammad, nephew and heir-apparent of Mubārak Shāh. The Mughal garrison left by Shaikh 'Alī at Lāhore, asked for quarter, in Shahwwāl 826/1432, and evacuated it. After liberating Shorkot and Multān, the Sultān made a pilgrimage to the holy tomb of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakaria Qureshī Multānī, the premier saint of Multān (belonging to the Suhrawardia order), after leaving his camp at Dīpālpūr in charge of 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

Significance of the Mughal defeat.

Thus ended the campaigns against Shaikh 'Alī, a Mughal invader, entering India on four occasions. His defeat and expulsion were due to the vigilance of the Sultan and his prompt and timely action. Fighting the Mughals was not an easy job and it must be remembered that the operations were much more bloody and serious in consequence, because Yahyā, the court panegyrist gave only one side of the picture, viz., the flight of the enemy invariably, without encounters. If the defeats inflicted on the Mughals in the earlier operations had been as successful as Yahyā would lead us believe, the Mughals would not have repeated their operations as soon as the royal troops had turned their back. The success of the king's army, depended, mainly, on two factors. Firstly, Shaikh 'Alī lacked strategy, his expeditions were ill-thought out, and were without a premeditated plan. He acted with dash and daring no doubt but winning war with token forces of cavalry men is not always decisive nor could pillage reconcile conquered peoples.

The second cause of the Mughal defeat was the system of border defences. It must be remembered that the Chenāb formed the western-most boundary of the Sulatānat at this time. But the whole of the western Punjāb was inter-linked by a system of fortifications so that from Lāhore or Tabarhind onwards there was a regular chain of forts with Multān and Dīpālpūr as the main bastions. So the consequence was that an enemy entering the Punjāb through the mountain passes in the Khaibar or even the Bolān could not proceed east unless the whole chain upto Multān and Lāhore had been secured. The chain system of fortification enabled the king to send reinforcements when an attack had been launched and resistance offered by the defenders of one such fort. The campaign over, the Sultān again took away, the Vilāyats of Lāhore, Dīpālpūr and Jallandar from Shams-ul-Mulk and gave them to Malik-us-Sharq 'Imādu-ul-Mulk, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk's Jāgīr of Bayāna was conferred on Shams-ul-Mulk.

Sultān makes some administrative changes after return to Delhi.

Leaving the camp in charge of Kamāl-ul-Mulk, the Sultān returned to the metropolis making his entry synchronize with the festivities of 'Īd-uz-Zaha (10th Zilhaj). After this he made some changes for the smooth running of the coach of state with fatal consequences.

No more exciting events took place during the next few months of his life in the Western Provinces. A few days before his death, he received the good news of the fall of Tabarhind, and the severed head of Fulad, the rebel Turk-bach-cha, the architect of Tabarhind disturbances, was dispatched to him at the same time.

(To be continued)

Lord Wellesley's Policy and its Reversal

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I

Quite a lot has been written on Lord Wellesley's policy and its so-called reversal. It is believed that Wellesley's policy was a resounding success and that after his departure his bolder and wiser system was given up, just when it was on the point of being crowned with success, in favour of what Lyall calls an 'experiment of isolation', throwing away all the advantages gained by Wellesley. Of late, fresh light has been thrown by a study of original records on this period and it has been shown that nemesis had overtaken Wellesley's system during the last months of his regime. Research scholars have exposed some phases of the weakening of his system, particularly towards Daulat Rao Sindhia,[1] but much yet remains imperfectly known. It is the purpose of this article to show that a careful analysis of the results of the policy followed by Wellesley's successors and their comparison with the aims and expectations of Wellesley would show little material difference and that, in fact, the so-much lamented reversal of Wellesley's policy was, if at all, a very half-hearted reversal.

To appreciate this, it is necessary to see first what objects Wellesley had in view and how far he had achieved them. His aim was to build up and consolidate British dominion in India, partly by absorbing the decadent and dependent rulerships like the Carnatic, and partly by securing a general control over all native states by an extension of the subsidiary alliance system and thus to make the British power paramount in India.

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[1] Roy, N.B.: Introduction to Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. XI; Gupta, S.S.: Relations of Daulat Rao Sindhia with the British, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Sixth session, 1943.

It would appear that he eminently succeeded in his object. He destroyed the formidable power of Tipu and set up a minor scion of the old Hindu ruling dynasty, to rule a very much reduced state, bound by a subsidiary treaty which practically made him a vassal. The Nizam too was induced to enter into a subsidiary alliance, and the annexation of the Carnatic made the Company the undisputed paramount power throughout south India. In northern India he compelled the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh to accept a new treaty by which he was forced to cede half of his territory and become absolutely dependent upon the Company. The territory in the north-west of India was occupied by the Sikhs who had not yet developed into a sufficiently strong political force to be reckoned with. The remaining part of India, outside the Company's possession, was dominated by the great Maratha Confederacy which, although divided within itself, was strong enough to challenge the power of the Company. Wellesley wanted to break up the confederacy by treating the Peshwa and other chiefs as separate and independent powers. The struggle for supremacy at Poona between Sindhia and Holkar, following the death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800, drove Peshwa Baji Rao II into Wellesley's net. By the treaty of Bassein, he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Company and ceded certain territories in the Deccan (which were exchanged later for territory in Bundlekhand) to defray the expenses of the subsidiary force. This led to a war with Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghoji Bhonsla both of whom were defeated. Sindhia accepted the treaty of Surji Arjungaon and ceded all his territories in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamna, as well as those to the north of the principalities of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad together with Ahmadnagar in the Deccan and Broach in Gujerat. Raghoji Bhonsla too, by the treaty of Deogaon, had to cede Cuttack to the Company and the district of Berar to the west of the Wardha to the Nizam. Bhonsla did not enter into any subsidiary treaty, although Sindhia later on (February 1804) accepted a modified form of it. While the war was going on, Wellesley, anxious to prevent the revival of Maratha influence in Hindostan by establishing a barrier between their possessions and those of the Company, concluded treaties of alliance and mutual defence with Bharatpur (September 1803), Jodhpur (Dec.), Jaipur (Dec.), and Machery (Nov.). Raja Mansingh of Jodhpur did not ratify the treaty. A similar treaty was made with Rana Kirat Singh, a Jat chieftain long dispossessed by Sindhia, who was given the territory of Gohad (January 1804).

Now only two Maratha chiefs had remained, the Gaekwad and the Holkar. Anand Rao Gaekwad, faced by a hostile combination of his brothers, sought British protection and accepted a subsidiary alliance (April, 1805). Wellesley sought to conclude a friendly agreement with Holkar also but the negotiations failed and a war ensued in which, although in the first phase of the war Holkar was driven southward, British prestige suffered heavily on account of the disastrous retreat of Monson and the repeated failures of Lake's desperate assaults on the fort of Baharatpur, whose Raja had deserted to Holkar. The behaviour of the Raja of Jaipur too became equivocal and although Baharatpur was persuaded again to accept a treaty of alliance with the English, Sindhia joined Holkar and, inspite of the repeated remonstrances of Lake, did not separate.[1]

At this stage Wellesley was recalled and Cornwallis was sent out to India, pledged to reverse the policy followed by Wellesley.

Writing to the Secret Committee on the 13th of July, 1804 on the advantages of his arrangements, Wellesley concluded 'A general bond of connexion is now established between the British Government and the principal states of India, on principles which render it the interest of every state to maintain its alliance with the British Government . . . . . and which secure to every state the unmolested exercise of its separate authority within the limits of its established dominion, under the general protection of the British power.'

The defensive alliance system was tested in the war against Holkar and Wellesley reported to the Secret Committee the satisfaction he derived from its success.[2] He said, 'In the prosecution of hostilities against Holkar, we have derived considerable assistance from the Peshwa, the Subahdar of Deccan, the Rajah of Mysore and the Guikwar. . . . . .That assistance could not have been expected under any other state of circumstances. The troops of these states have actually joined our armies, while the resources of their respective territories have been at our disposal......

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[2] General Letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors from the Bengal Government in the Secret Branch of the Foreign Department (Henceforth quoted as Letter to Secret Committee), 31 May, 1805.

'......in a different state of circumstances.. (their) resources ....might have been applied against us. The causes which have precluded the operation of the alliance with....Scindiah....are wholly unconnected with any considerations affecting the general policy of the alliance.

'The Rajah of Jeypore has not fulfilled the duties of the alliance....has observed a strict neutrality. But this conduct....must be attributed to the internal state of the politics of that court. The Rajah....however has been useful in a certain degree, by assembling his troops and by publicly manifesting a design to co-operate with the British forces. Had the Rajah been unconnected with us, the difficulties of the war in Hindostan would have been increased by the necessity of adopting measures of precaution to guard against the possible effect of intrigues at that court, which we should not then have had the means of controlling.

'The Rajah of Matcherry has performed all the duties of defensive alliance....

'The Rana of Gohad has been equally faithful......

'With regard to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, it may be observed that a sufficient period of time had not elapsed to give full effect to the alliance....The retreat of......Monson's detachment, followed by the troops of....Holkar, favoured the success of Holkar's intrigues at the Durbar of the Rajah; and.... (he was induced) to violate the engagements and to join the cause of the enemy. The experience....has induced the Rajah....to seek....renewal of his alliance with the British power.

'It is evident therefore that the war with Holkar has not only not effected the general system of our political relations, but has demonstrated the utility of those relations in their application to the increase of our resources and power against our enemies.... The disturbances caused by Holkar have not shaken the great foundations of the alliance established in Hindostan and the Deccan, and it may be reasonably expected that the ultimate consequence of the war with Holkar will tend to confirm the stability of our alliances, and to secure the tranquillity of all our dominions.'

Generally speaking, Wellesley may be regarded to have succeeded in achieving his object of making the Company the paramount power in India and the fact cannot be denied. But we have to see whether his achievements were in conformity with the principles his system embodied and whether he could claim a uniform success for all his arrangements.

Now with regard to the principles of his system, the treaties with the different states made the two contracting states in each case 'one and the same in interest, policy, friendship and honour.'[3] The enemies and friends of one became the enemies and friends of the other. The rulers had to subordinate their foreign policy to that of the Company, but they were to be absolutely free in their internal affairs and the subsidiary force was meant to be at all times, 'ready to execute the services of importance, such as the protection of the person of his Highness, his heirs and successors, from race to race and the overawing and chastizing all rebels or exciters of disturbance in the dominions of this state.'[4]

It will appear that facts were quite contrary to these principles. The states which had entered into a subsidiary alliance were no longer independent states. Not only they had no control over their foreign policy; they were subject to irritating control of the British residents in their internal affairs too. On his arrival in India Lord Cornwallis, writing to the Court of Directors, lamented the 'increasing ascendancy of the British influence and authority exercised through the medium of our residents at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad'[5] against the stipulations of the alliance. Such an influence was 'inconsistent with the....principles of policy' for, as explained by Wellesley's own lieutenant Barlow, the alliance stipulated for unfettered control of the ruler over his internal affairs and British influence on his counsels were to be confined to 'that which might be expected to result from his Highness's experience of the benefits of his connexion with us......'[6] Far from realising the identity of his own interests with those of the Company, the Nizam was not satisfied with the alliance and Wellesley, to secure the advantages of the alliance, had to ask the British resident at Hyderabad, Capt. Sydenham, to procure the appointment of Mir Alam, who had long been known to be thoroughly well-disposed towards the British, as chief minister. The Nizam yielded only a reluctant consent to his appointment and gave him his confidence only when threatened with dire consequences.[7]

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[3] Preamble to Treaty with Hyderabad, 1800; Treaty of Bassein, Art. 17; Martin: Wellesley Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 709 and Vol. III, p. 630.

[4] Treaty with Hyderabad, 1798, Art. 5, Martin: Wellesley Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 683.

[5] General Letter to the Court of Directors from the Bengal Government in the Secret Branch of the Foreign Department (henceforth quoted as Secret Letter to Court), 26, August 1805.

Similar was the case with the Peshwa who was helpless in the face of the domineering influence of the Resident from whom he often received severe snubbings so that 'the only feasible principle of life for him was to court the resident's favour by saying yes to every request from the latter.'[8] The Peshwa had not liked his new position and had 'secretly approved' the measures which Sindhia and Bhonsla contemplated after the treaty.

The state of Mysore was an allied state only in name. It was practically British territory as Wellesley himself admitted to the Secret Committee when he wrote to them, 'the territories placed under the nominal sovereignty of the Rajah of Mysore....constitute substantially an integral part of our dominion.'[8a]

Likewise the Gaekwad was completely in the hands of the British residents on whose support alone he depended for his throne. Bhonsla was smarting under the loss of valuable territory and, at one stage during the war with Holkar, Wellesley suspected him of treasonable contacts with Holkar.[9] The Nawab-Vizier of Oudh too was not satisfied with his position, having made a number of complaints towards the close of Wellesley's regime and showed

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[6] Consultations of the Bengal Government in the Secret Branch of the Foreign Department (henceforth quoted as Bengal Secret Consultations), 9 January, 1806, No. 17.

[7] Bengal Sec. Cons., 18 December, 1806, No. 18.

[8] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VII, Intro., p. xiv.

[8a] Letter to Secret Committee, 9 June, 1800.

[9] Secret Letter to Court, 24 March, 1805.

'a spirit of perverseness and of opposition to the just and reasonable expectations of the British Government.'[10]

Nor did these various rulers give any willing help to the Company, as stated by Wellesley. The armies of the Nizam cooperated with the British forces, but as admitted by Wellesley himself, his forces joined only 'after long and urgent solicitation on the part of the Resident at Hyderabad' and in other respects too 'the state of Hyderabad altogether failed in the discharge of the duties of an ally, and the conduct of his Highness's officers was of a nature actually hostile to the British Government.'[11]

The same thing could be said about the Peshwa too. The presence of the subsidiary force did not enable him to make any overt hostile movement during the war, but the Governor-General had to complain that the exertions of the British arms had been 'in some points impeded by the unaccommodating and vindictive spirit of his Highness's policy.'[12] The Peshwa supplied only 3,000 horses and that too 'after urgent and repeated remonstrances'. The Peshwa was 'urged to complete the contingent of troops which his Highness was required by his engagements to furnish but without success.'[13] Similarly the Governor-General had to accuse the Peshwa, when he was offered the fort and district of Ahmadnagar, of manifesting 'a spirit of cavil and of inordinate pretension wholly unbecoming' his situation.[14]

The satisfaction derived from the nature of help received from the Raja of Jaipur would draw a smile even from the warmest admirers of Wellesley. The Raja had definitely failed to fulfil his engagements. His conduct in the war was such as led Wellesley to confess to Lord Cornwallis that 'the Rajah of Jeynagur had, by his conduct, forfeited all claim to our protection.'[15]

Wellesley declares that the Rana of Gohad had proved faithful, but he knew it was wrong. Before his departure, he had agreed to the restoration of Gohad to Sindhia owing to the incompetence of the Rana; he had not kept his engagements with the British nor done his duty to his people.[16] Wellesley was certainly trying to deceive the Directors by professing satisfaction at the extent of the help received from the allies in the war against Holkar.

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[10] Secret Letter to Court, 20 August, 1806.
[11] Letter to Secret Committee, 10 June, 1804.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Letter to Secret Committee, 12 April, 1804.
[14] Letter to Secret Committee, 10 June, 1804.
[15] Ross: Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 535.

Sindhia had not only not helped the Company, but had in open defiance of the treaty joined Holkar and to say that the causes of his non-cooperation were unconnected with any considerations affecting the general policy of the alliance is, in essence, unconvincing. That the settlement made by Wellesley in northern India, the principal part of which related to Sindhia, was not satisfactory is admitted by Wellesley himself, when, following Sindhia's intention to march towards Bharatpur, he observed to Lord Lake, 'It is evident that this principle of pacification has proved inadequate to the purposes of our security, and that the restraints imposed by the provisions of that treaty of peace (Surji Arjungaon) upon. . . . Scindiah's means of mischief were insufficient. Another principle of pacification therefore must be assumed. Scindiah must not be permitted to retain the rights and privileges to an extent which may hereafter enable him to injure us or our allies, and we must secure the arrangement by establishing a direct control over the acts of his government. . . .'[17] He wished 'to reduce his power to the lowest scale.' Evidently he desired to station a strong subsidiary force with Sindhia to hold him in check.

So the basis of the subsidiary alliance system was not identity of interest but force and a necessary condition of its success was the reduction of the military power of the ally to a point where he became incapable of doing any mischief. And the ally had always to be kept in awe by the presence of the subsidiary force. But what was the purpose of the subsidiary force? It was, as we have seen, meant to be at all times 'ready to execute the services of importance such as the protection of the person of his Highness, his heirs and successors, from race to race, and the overawing and chastizing all rebels or exciters of disturbance in the dominions of this state.' The rebels and disturbers of peace in the dominions of his Highness were to be overawed, not his Highness himself.

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[16] Kaye: Life of Malcolm, Vol. I, p. 347, on the basis of the manuscript memo of Sir George Barlow.

[17] Note of 10 April, 1805 to Lord Lake enclosed with Letter to Secret Committee, 31 May, 1805.

It is evident that the subsidiary alliance system, as it was professed to be (establishing a bond of amity between the contracting states), was a failure. If the allies had always to be held in military awe and their internal affairs to be controlled by the residents, all the pompous talk of the two states becoming 'one and the same in interest, policy, friendship and honour' was sheer bunkum. It was, if not conquest, a state of complete dependence in which the so-called allies had entered, but in no case a defensive alliance. This sort of alliance, based on force as it was, could be maintained only so long as the force sustaining it was there. Evidently the force which the British had been so long wielding had begun to show signs of weakening during the last days of Wellesley in India and no wonder his elaborate system of alliances began to show signs of crumbling too. It is true that no argument against the system of Wellesley could be drawn from the transaction with Sindhia for there was no subsidiary force stationed with him. But this does not weaken the contention that the arrangements made with Sindhia, to whatever system they might belong, had definitely failed; the success which had been claimed for Wellesley in that part of the country was illusory.

His other treaties too, as we have seen, had not conduced to peace. Nizam, Peshwa, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh and Bhonsla were uneasy in their situations. The Raja of Jodhpur, by refusing to ratify the treaty made with him, had already left a breach in the Rajput barrier, which had been further shattered by Jaipur and Bharatpur. And the British arms had not, by the time Wellesley left, been able to effectively occupy the British portion of Bundelkhand.

It was all too clear to Wellesley. He knew things were slipping out of his hands and the grand game could no longer be played. He was therefore already 'checking his best negotiators and commanders in the very career in which he had started them and accusing them of warlike propensities.'[18] His inclination towards peace was only too visible. 'His steadiest friends and warmest admirers were shaking their heads and saying among themselves that the 'glorious little man' was losing heart—that he had become far too prone to compromise and concessions—that he was overlooking insults and offences which ought to be resented, and regarding as friends or welcoming as associates men who deserved only the chastizement due to the most unscrupulous of our enemies.'[19]

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[18] Harriet Martineau: British Rule in India, p. 223.

Lord Wellesley's correspondence towards the end of his regime amply bears out these statements. Writing to Lord Lake on June 25, 1805, he says that exclusively of Sindhia's refusing the required atonement for the outrages on the residency, 'his proceeding with his army to Bharatpur......, or in any manner passing the line of demarcation prescribed by the treaty of peace', his 'placing his army in a position evidently menacing to the British government or its allies,' his 'receiving . . . . Holkar or Meer Khan (Amir Khan) into his camp . . . . would be 'acts which would justify and require the measure of an immediate attack upon that chieftain's forces.'[20] Wellesley himself admitted to the Secret Committee that the last two cases had occurred.[21] But the immediate attack did not take place. Lake only advanced towards Sabalgarh and stopped midway. Wellesley tried to explain the suspension of hostilities to the Secret Committee on the basis of the state of the season and the 'distressed and inefficient condition of their (Holkar's and Sindhia's) armies, but it should require little stretch of imagination to see the real cause if we remember that only two and a half months back he had written to Lake of his desire to reduce Sindhia to a state of absolute dependence for which a valuable opportunity had so soon offered itself.

The British resident was in a state of virtual confinement in Sindhia's camp and in spite of the threats and ultimatums of Wellesley, Sindhia would not release him. To Wellesley 'it appeared to be indispensably necessary for the preservation of the credit and dignity of the British government to demand the release of the residency, and to maintain that even at the hazard of war.' But this was a vain boast. Actually the credit and the dignity were to be maintained by prohibiting Sindhia's vakil at

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[19] Kaye: Life of Metcalfe, Vol. I, p. 169.

[20] Secret Letter to Court, 30 July, 1805.

[21] Ibid.

Calcutta from quitting that city. If that measure failed, the payment of the stipends and revenues of Dholpur, Bari and Rajakhera, which were promised to Sindhia by the treaty of Surji Arjungaon, were to be suspended. Even if this measure 'after a sufficient latitude of trial' failed, then coercive measures were to be used, the jagirs (held by Sindhia's relations in the territories ceded by the treaty but guaranteed to them) were to be resumed, his possessions in Ahmadnagar were to be seized and Asirgarh and Burhanpur and his several posts near the frontier of Gujerat were to be attacked, 'declaring at the same time to Scindiah that those possessions should be restored' after the release of the resident.[22] The various methods suggested were unexceptionable but they were certainly un-Wellesleyan, and the fact that Wellesley had to adopt them is eloquent of the situation to which he had been reduced. By the time he left, the resident was still a prisoner in Sindhia's camp.

The British Resident Richard Jenkins had not only been detained by Sindhia, his camp had been allowed to be attacked and looted twice within a month (28 December, 1804 and 25 January, 1805). Jenkins's indignant reports of the event failed to rouse the ire of Wellesley who not only condoned the December outrage but demanded merely 'a moderate atonement' for the atrocious plunder of the Residency in January.[23] This attitude of Wellesley towards Sindhia may well be compared with that adopted by him towards Tipu who had been in correspondence with the Isle of France from where a miserable force not exceeding 200 men had landed. Wellesley considered this to be 'a public, unqualified, unambiguous declaration or act of war.'[24] He could not even think of demanding an explanation from Tipu for it might be 'attributed either to a defect of spirit or of power, the result of . . . . . (which) would. . . .be disgrace of our character. . . .' He would have begun offensive operations at once, but his military and diplomatic preparations not being complete, he affected a desire to live on friendly terms and to send an envoy to him with a view to the removal of suspicions. Correspondence was protracted till the preparations were complete when without waiting for Tipu's reply for eight days more than the date on which the reply could have arrived, the British armies were ordered to march.

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. XI, p. 155.
[24] Owen: Wellesley Correspondence, p. 23.

The fact was that on the eve of his departure, the paramount object of Lord Wellesley's desires, the subject of his thoughts and the main occasion of his labours was the speedy establishment of peace and the restoration of the financial prosperity of the Empire[25] which had been hopelessly shattered by his reckless wars on account of which any further prosecution of war had become almost impossible. His letters of this period breathe the spirit of peace and emphasize his anxiety not to precipitate a renewal of conflict with Sindhia which he regarded as a "great calamity'[26] and to avert which he went, much to his own chagrin, even to the length of swallowing insults.

II

Thus we find that although Wellesley's successes in other parts of India are undeniable, his success in the North-east was largely illusory. His helplessness in that part of the country had created a little faint-heartedness in him during the last part of his administration and compelled him to start a process which reached its culmination in the time of his successors. Lord Wellesley had lost favour with the Directors in England who found that Wellesley's long administration had meant for the Company an empty treasury, piled up debts and curtailed dividends. Even the Ministry, whose support Wellesley had enjoyed in the earlier part of his regime, had become critical. Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, had expressed grave doubts of his Maratha policy as embodied in the treaty of Bassein. A return to the restrictive policy as laid down in the Pitt's India Act of 1784 was considered imperative. Wellesley was recalled and Lord Cornwallis was sent out once more to reverse Wellesley's policy, 'to bring back things to the state which the Legislature had prescribed.'[27]

The policy which Cornwallis intended to pursue differed but little in its essential features from that which Wellesley would, at that time, have adopted. While both Cornwallis and Wellesley were for some time at Calcutta, Sir George Barlow had drawn up a paper on August 7, 1805 on the Company's relations with the states of the North-west in which past events were recited and prospective measures were mapped out for the guidance of Cornwallis. It was intended to embody the views of Wellesley as modified by the circumstances in which Government were then placed and was submitted to him for approval. A single sentence, not effecting the general tenor of the document, was inserted by the retiring Governor-General who then declared that it fairly represented his views.[28] Thus it appears that the policy of the so-called reversal formulated by Cornwallis and carried out by Barlow was that approved by Wellesley.

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[25] Kaye: Life of Metcalfe, Vol. I, p. 170.
[26] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. XI, pp. 142, 152-164.
[27] Ross: Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 523.

It is proposed here to summarize the results of the new policy, without going into details, so as to show how the new policy was not really a reversal but simply an adaptation of the old to the changed circumstances. The new policy, as it developed, although styled 'non-intervention', did not seek to give up the advantages which Wellesley had secured for the Company. It did not contemplate dissolving existing subsidiary alliances. Only it would not extend the principle of subsidiary alliance to any of the powers which were not already so allied. It simply sought to withdraw from untenable situations, surrender positions of doubtful advantage and consolidate the British position to pave the way for future advance by limiting attention to the restoration of the internal prosperity of the Company's dominions, which had been shattered by the costly and almost interminable wars in which Wellesley had engaged, and avoiding all measures which might involve the Company in the difficulties of others. A necessary concomitant of this policy was the removal of all causes of jealousy and suspicion other powers entertained about the Company. The best security of the British dominions was believed to consist in maintaining an efficient army and cultivating the confidence of its neighbours, while the mutual discord of the neighbours was calculated to provide an additional source of security.

An appraisal of the results of the new policy would be facilitated by referring them to some of the important objects of Lord

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[28] Kaye: Lives of Indian Officers, Vol. I, p. 126 footnote.

Wellesley in the North-west. They were: (a) 'the annexation to the British dominions of the whole of the territory within the Doab, and the Ganges....thereby rendering the river Jumna the north-western frontier of our dominion in that quarter'; (b) 'the occupation of Delhi and Agra and of a chain of posts on the western and southern banks of the Jumna sufficient to secure to the British power the free navigation of the Jumna and the possession of both banks of that river'; (c) 'the permanent exclusion of the Mahrattas from the North-west of Hindostan'; (d) 'the establishment of a system of defensive alliances with states of Hindustan, the local position of whose territories might form a barrier between the possessions of the Company and the Mahrattas and secure the exclusion of the authority and influence of Scindiah from the north-western division of Hindostan'; (e) 'the protection of the person and nominal authority of his Majesty Shah Aulum . . . .'[29]

The main problems awaiting solution at the time of Wellesley's departure were pacification of Sindhia, bringing the war with Holkar to a close, reestablishment of a barrier of friendly and allied states to the west and south of the Jamna between the territories of the Company and those of the Marathas and the occupation of that portion of Bundlekhand which the Peshwa had ceded to the Company. It was left to Wellesley's successors to deal with those problems. Cornwallis gave immediate attention to them but the burden of solution devolved on Barlow.

He made treaties with Sindhia and Holkar. Both the treaties were based on the principles outlined above. Sindhia had lately accepted a subsidiary alliance, although of a modified type, from Wellesley, but it could not, in principle, be renewed now. The modifications made in the treaty of Surji Arjungaon were such as removed the just grievances of Sindhia by giving him Gwalior and Gohad, but did not involve any material loss to the Company. In fact, by the new arrangement, Sindhia was deprived of Dholpur, Bari and Rajakhera which he had been allowed to retain by Wellesley. The sacrifice of Gwalior and Gohad were not very material. Besides, Wellesley had wrongfully claimed Gwalior. We have here the testimony of no less an authority than Arthur Wellesley who had concluded the treaty of Surji Arjungaon and who not only asserted the impropriety of claiming Gwalior which had been lost to Sindhia by the treaty but also doubted the policy of keeping the fort which according to him 'could defend and cover nothing but itself.' When Francis, in the Budget debate in the House of Commons on July 8, 1806, attacked the cession of Gwalior and Gohad to Sindhia, Arthur Wellesley declared that on later thoughts Lord Wellesley had considered the expediency of restoring to Sindhia both Gwalior and Gohad. He concluded by observing that the treaty made by Barlow was consistent with the spirit of the treaty of Surji Arjungaon.[30]

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[29] Letter to Secret Committee, 13 July, 1804.

As a result of the treaty with Sindhia (as also Holkar) the Jamna became the westward boundary of the British dominions and alliances and connections with the petty states and territories to the west of the Jamna were abandoned. Barlow was bitterly attacked for making the Jamna the westward boundary of the British possessions, but in so fixing the westward boundary Barlow was only doing what Wellesley had desired, as we have seen above. In fact, Barlow went farther than Wellesley by retaining Mathura along with the two towns together with a continuous strip of land a few miles wide on the right bank of the Jamna upto its junction with the Betwa.

The main difference between the results desired by Wellesley and those achieved by Barlow lies in respect of Wellesley's another object—'the establishment of an efficient system of alliance with all the petty states to the southward and westward of the Jumna from Jeynagur to Bundelkand,' and thereby of an extensive barrier against the Marathas.

The alliances with Jaipur and Bharatpur had broken down at the first impact of the war. The breakdown was inevitable in view of their inherent defect. The alliances with the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Gaekwad were maintained principally by the awe in which those rulers were always held by the subsidiary forces stationed in their territories which precluded to a very large extent the dangers of both local intrigues and foreign attacks. But in the case of these small states there was nothing to guard against those dangers.

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[30] Asiatic Annual Register, 1806, p. 249.

It must be noted that Wellesley had not been able to persuade the Raja of Jodhpur to ratify the alliance he had made with the Company and thus the barrier had never been complete. At a later stage, to placate Sindhia, Wellesley had declared that 'the British Government had no intention to interfere in any manner between His Highness (Sindhia) and the Raja of Jodepur'. It may be conceded that Jodhpur was far away, but Sindhia's freedom to deal with Jodhpur at his pleasure was bound to create difficulty in that quarter. Even with regard to Jaipur, Wellesley had confessed to Cornwallis, as we have seen above, that the Raja had forfeited all claim to British protection, which shows that the setting up of this barrier was not very important for Wellesley and that he was prepared to break it up by abandoning the alliance with Jaipur. A lasting peace with Sindhia was of paramount importance with him and Kaye says that there was every presumption that Wellesley would not have allowed any fanciful theories of supposed advantages from taking all these states under his protection as allies to have interfered with the great objects to be accomplished by a permanent and satisfactory peace with Sindhia.[31]

Barlow dissolved the alliances with Jaipur and Gohad and tried to satisfy Sindhia as best as he could. He tried to persuade Bharatpur and Machery also to terminate the alliances but, since they did not agree, he allowed them to continue. Thus it is clear that not all the alliances made by Wellesley were dissolved. Only the alliances with Jaipur and Gohad were dissolved and we have seen the views of Wellesley himself in regard to them. Barlow would not have the barrier contemplated by Wellesley although he retained a strip of territory on the right bank of the Jamna and settled it with the chiefs from whom he was bound to provide.

Another departure from Wellesley's system was in Bundelkhand where Barlow allowed a certain territory (lying to the south of the Vindhya range) out of the Company's portion to be held by the local chiefs. Bailly, the Governor-General's Agent in Bundelkhand, and the military officers were constantly pressing the adoption of rigorous measures for the reduction of the entire ceded portion of Bundelkhand. But Barlow was clearly conscious of the difficulty of the task and the inability of the government to finance the protracted operations that would have been necessary for the purpose. He was right. After him Lord Minto, with all the advantages of a sound finance and all-round peace, took four years in suppressing a single chief, Gopal Singh and finally pacifying Bundelkhand. Here too Barlow did not make any material sacrifice. The treaty entitled the Company to only as much territory in Bundelkhand as produced 36 lakhs of rupees per year. The lands which had been assigned to Himmat Bahadur, a local chief in return for his help to the British, and which were resumed by Barlow, were estimated to produce 20 lakhs.[32] The districts occupied by Bailly, exclusive of Himmat Bahadur's assignments, yielded a revenue of well over 18 lakhs in 1803-04.[33] Thus he retained territory yielding as much as, if not more than, the Company was entitled to. The areas given up by him were such as promised uncertain revenue but certain trouble which he was not prepared to invite in those critical circumstances.

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[31] Kaye: Life of Metcalfe, Vol. I, p. 170.

A further loss of territory was suffered to pacify Bhonsla. He restored to him Sambhalpur and Patna which were very poor possessions. Wellesley was willing to return them to Bhonsla but the recent promises made to the local chiefs had stood in the way. He was, however, prepared to pay compensation for them.[34] Barlow secured the consent of the chiefs for the abrogation of the promise, afforded compensation (although the chiefs withdrew their consent at a later stage) and handed over the territories to Bhonsla. In this case too thus Barlow did what Wellesley was willing to do.

Several historians have condemned the whole policy followed by Cornwallis and Barlow. Wilson, in his footnote to Mill's account, says, 'In blind obedience to the alarm created at home by temporary financial difficulties, in conformity to the parliamentary phraseology of self-denial...... (the Government of India) resigned all the advantages to which it was both in justice and policy entitled .... What was done in 1817 might have been accomplished...with more ease and less cost in 1805. Sindhia's power was then completely broken, Holkar was a fugitive....It was both treacherous and cruel to abandon the Rajput princes to Marhatta vengeance and rapacity....It was evident that Sir George Barlow's measures were regulated by only one principle, obedience to the wishes of the Court of Directors, which he enforced without regard to circumstances or seasons'.[35]

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[32] General Letter from the Political Department to the Court of Directors, 1 May, 1807.

[33] Revenue Board's Records, 30 June, 1806, No. 6.

[34] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. V, p. 153.

From what we have seen above Wilson's remarks appear to be unjustified. Sindhia's power was not completely broken. Even Wellesley had to condone insults at his hands and considered any renewal of war with him as a great calamity. Holkar was no doubt a fugitive but, as we shall presently see, the British Government was not in a position to prolong the war. It was no doubt treacherous to dissolve the alliance with Jaipur and Gohad and abandon connection with Bundi, but it is, in the light of what has been said above, at least doubtful if in those circumstances Wellesley would have acted otherwise.

The Directors had taken alarm and their orders were peremptory. The alarm too was not unfounded. The situation was really extremely desperate. When Cornwallis arrived, the regular troops of the Company were little short of five months and many of the public departments were still more in arrear. The irregular troops were making a drain upon the treasury of nearly six lakhs of rupees per month. The Company's treasuries were exhausted.[36] On August 1, 1805, Cornwallis wrote to Castlereagh, 'My statements of our poverty are by no means overcharged, notwithstanding the late violent transactions in Oude. Lord Wellesley has borrowed 20 lakhs of the Vizier and has written to press him for ten more. Our credit has, I believe, been tried to the utmost at Benares and other places.[37] Barlow's financial secretary, Tucker, expressed the same opinion towards the close of November 1805.[38] There were deficiencies in every principal treasury in the country

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35. Mill: History of British India, Vol. VI, p. 480.
36. Secret Letter to Court, 9 August, 1805.
37. Ross: Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 534.
38. Kaye: Life of Tucker, pp. 186-187.

and the general treasury had long been bankrupt. Currency was vitiated and means of borrowing were pretty well exhausted. Revenues had been forestalled, debts were piling up, fresh loans were impossible and above all the Government was using up the bullion sent from England. Besides, there were huge arrears to be paid. 'We have been going on very heedlessly towards a precipice and it will require a good strong arm and a skilful horseman to pull up without a tumble.' This was the inevitable result of the long wars of Wellesley and needless to say, any further prosecution of war in such a condition was absolutely impossible. Had funds been available, the policy followed by Barlow, inspite of the Directors and Lord Cornwallis, would certainly have been different.

Barlow was not blindly obedient to the commands of the Directors, nor did he blindly follow the policy laid down by Cornwallis. The Directors and Cornwallis would have modified the subsidiary treaties with Hyderabad and Poona.[39] Cornwallis would even admit Sindhia into Delhi.[40] But Barlow set his face resolutely against anything of that sort. He did not only not abandon those alliances, but asserted himself and curbed the Nizam in his anti-British designs,[41] and the Peshwa in his attempts to revive the old Maratha Confederacy against the spirit of the treaty of Bessein.[42] Thus inspite of the professed policy of non-intervention he interfered energetically in the affairs of the Nizam and the Peshwa and maintained the essential foundations of the British Empire in India. In the affairs of the Gaekwad too he actively interfered through the British resident to rescue the administration from certain ruin, for to him the question was not limited to the Company's interest in the state of Gujerat but was closely connected with the general security and tranquillity of the British Empire in India.[43]

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[39] Letter from the Secret Committee, 6 March, 1804; Bengal Secret Cons., 22 August, 1805, No. 32; 29 August 1805, No. 42.

[40] Ross: Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 542.

[41] Bengal Sec. Cons., 8 July, 1807, No. 1.

[42] Political Letter to Court, 10 June, 1807.

[43] Bengal Sec. Cons., 31 July, 1806, Nos. 43 and 44.

As we have seen above, except in the areas to the west of the Jamna, Barlow did not make any material sacrifice. Even in that quarter his arrangements, as shown above, went to a certain extent beyond those aimed at by Wellesley (he had annexed a long strip of territory on the right bank of the Jamna), and although the Directors criticized him for having disregarded their explicit directions, and asked him to withdraw to the line of the Jamna and even admit Sindhia into that territory,[44] he did not make any modification in his arrangements. In fact, whatever he sacrificed was only in the region where Wellesley himself had achieved only a doubtful success. The Directors and Lord Cornwallis, no doubt, were determined to destroy the Wellesleyan system, as far as possible and reverse his policy and adopt a policy of non-intervention with all its concomitants. Sir George Barlow professed to follow that policy but it would be difficult, in the light of the above facts, to believe that the results of the policy constituted in any way a reversal of Wellesley's policy. If at all it was a reversal, Wellesley himself had started the process.

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[44] Secret Letter from Court, 27 February, 1806.

Itmaduddaulah's Tomb at Agra

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The lavishly ornate mausoleum of Itmaduddaulah at Agra, built by the Empress Nurjahan, wife of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, for her own father marks the supreme triumph of feminine influence on Mughal architecture. It may be ranked as the most elegant and ambitious artistic achievement of her own life time and of her husband's reign. Its architectural conception reflects to this day the aesthetic temperament of the time—the growing persianised taste of the royal court and the love of art that characterised the queen consort. Nurjahan's creation rests in a class by itself, for it represents a new trend—the transition from the Indianised art of Akbar's reign to the Persianised style of Shahjahan's time. As the link between the two, the tomb of Nurjahan's father mirrors a change of outlook between Akbar and his son Jahangir. If Jahangir's reign witnessed a perceptible decline of the Indianising policy of his father, much of it could be traced to the queen's personal influence over her reigning husband. The tomb of Itmaduddaulah is thus one of the most significant of the Mughal monuments.

Mirza Ghias Beg, Nurjahan's father, whose surname was Itmaduddaulah, "the Lord High Treasurer", was a Persian adventurer from Tehran. He rose to the rank of Wazir or Prime Minister under Jahangir. His death occurred in 1622 at Kangra, while he was on his way to Kashmir. His body was taken back to Agra, and his daughter, Nurjahan, ordered the construction of a fitting tomb in the same year. At first, the empress intended to erect a grand mausoleum of solid silver; but this idea had to be dropped, because she was warned by her advisers that silver, being costly, was bound to tempt thieves and marauders, while marble, being less expensive and more durable, would be both safer and more attractive. The tomb was completed in 1628. The Wazir and his wife, Nurjahan's parents, are buried in the main hall, while the other members of the Wazir's family lie in the four corner chambers.

The mausoleum, in spotless white marble from top to bottom, is beautifully placed on the east or left bank of the Jumna. It stands like a gleaming pearl in a casket in the heart of a pretty and well laid-out Mughal garden inside a quadrangular walled enclosure, upon a raised platform 149 feet square and a little over 3 feet above the ground level, with an attached tower or minaret at each corner. The building itself is square, and is about 70 feet in diameter. The central structure is designed like a parallelogram measuring 22 feet and 3 inches on each of its sides. The floor is of costly marble, and is tastefully decorated with marble mosaic. The sides of the main hall are also of marble, and are decorated with inlaid designs. The ceiling is most artistically ornamented with gold and silver, and coloured flowers. The mortal remains of Itmaduddaulah and his wife are in the main hall, while the cenotaphs are placed in the upper chamber. The real tombs are built of a yellow variety of porphyry the elegant polish whereof is still striking.

On the sides there are inscriptions carved out in the Tughra style from the Quran and other holy texts. The cenotaphs in the upper pavilion are, however, of plain white marble, and they bear no inscriptions. The corner minarets are peculiarly noteworthy, for they are, in fact, a concrete expression of the idea which finally culminated in the detached minars of the Taj. The towers are octagonal at the base, and rounded at the top. They measure 40 feet in height, each being surmounted by a pretty kiosk.

A notable feature of the structure is the graceful pavilion put up on the second storey. Inside this chamber stand the replicas of the real graves below. The pavilion is a square hall, enclosed by exquisite screens of the most elegant and delicate marble lattice work. These marble screens wrought like lace represent the progress of an art which reaches its zenith in the reign of Shahjahan. By reason of their design and appearance, the marble tracery produces a pleasing effect, and lends a romantic charm to the entire building. The canopy-shaped roof of the pavilion has wide projecting eaves, and rests on twelve marble pillars. It is reminiscent of the Hindu influence which is so characteristic of the style of Akbar for a Muslim tomb is usually covered by a dome. The absence of a dome in Itmaduddaulah is thus of singular interest. It marks an interesting experimentation in the building art of the period. Persian minarets and a Hindu pavilion together make a novel combination indeed.

The inlay work in the mausoleum forms perhaps the happiest innovation in ornamentation. Both in quality and quantity, the *pietra dura* decoration noticed in the building reminds one of Persian fresco painting and mosaic tiles. This inlay work has been ascribed by some authorities to European artists attached to the royal court. But, there is not the least evidence of Italian or Florentine influence in the inlaid decoration. The *pietra dura* in Itmaduddaulah, as in Mughal architecture in general, is Persian in character, and the idea of its European origin is far-fetched. The design is all Persian, and the details are a reproduction or adaptation of the magnificent mosaic and painted tiles or pottery found in Persia. The tree of life, the cypress tree, the vases, drinking cups, water goblets and such other motifs are all Persian, and there is no trace of European handiwork in them. Even so far as the technique of *pietra dura* is concerned, the local craftsmen had nothing to borrow from the Italians, and it is a mistake to think that *pietra dura* had not existed in India before the advent of the Mughals. Havell, for example, cites a fine example of Indian inlay decoration in the 15th century Jain temple of Chitor, where mosaics of cornelian and agate are found. Marshall has also referred to an earlier specimen at Mandu. It is true that the introduction of inlaid decoration on such a large scale was a bold experiment, but it was certainly inspired by the model of Persian art. If foreign workmen were employed, they were, as expressly stated by travellers like Roe and Manucci, cutters of precious stones and enamellers. At the most, it could be conceded that some Italians may have brought with themselves stray pieces of Florentine inlay, and these might been exhibited to the local craftsmen. If these Europeans had actually been employed to teach or superintend the local inlayers, they would not have failed or forgotten to leave some tangible evidence of their supervision. The suggestion of Italian influence in this connection, therefore, must be rejected summarily.

The entire scheme of ornamentation, both inlaid and mosaic, is so skilfully and harmoniously executed, in pattern and symbolism no less than in colour and material, that its total effect leaves nothing to be desired. The whole edifice presents the appearance of a bejewelled casket the remarkable delicacy of which strikes the attention of even a casual visitor. Embellishment is so profuse and variegated that it seems to dominate the architectural conception. As such, it might be regarded as loud and gaudy at first sight, but let it not be forgotten that the ornamentation was expressly designed to suit the taste of a woman. The handsome patterning of the decorative details, as also the studied elaboration thereof, have only served to heighten the architectonic effect. The subdued and iridescent tints of the inlaid work have enhanced the beauty and appeal of the flawless white marble of which the mausoleum is built.

The tomb of Itmaduddaulah possesses an importance of its own in the annals of Mughal architecture. It constitutes a halfway house between the styles of Akbar and Shahjahan, and bears traces of a momentous phase in the evolution of the Mughal building art. It is an example of the development of the idea of a garden tomb which reaches perfection in the Taj. Its arrangement of lawn and parterres, pools and fountains, pathways and streamlets prefigures the patterning of the garden of the Taj. The use of white marble on so extensive a scale is also a new trend, and it anticipates the luxurious phase of Mughal architecture with which Shahjahan's reign is associated. The Persianised design and decoration of the tomb set a fashion which reached new heights in the succeeding years. Its *pietra dura* inlay inspired the architect of the Taj. Its corner minarets did not fail to suggest a further development on the same lines in the design of the minarets of the Taj. Again, the location of the mausoleum by the side of the Jumna must have formed the precedent for the similar placing of the Taj. The choice of a riverbank site is suggestive of Hindu influence. This is all the more significant, because Akbar's tomb at Sikandra is at a distance from the Jumna. Moreover, the tomb of

Itmaduddaulah emphasised and popularised the idea of concentrating on beauty and delicacy of execution, rather than on size and expanse of architectural creation. In other words, it marks a changeover from the epic to the lyric, from the virile to the effeminate, and from quantity to quality. Last, but not the least, the mausoleum gives an insight to the mind and outlook of its woman builder—her filial piety, her love of beauty, refinement of temperament, no less than an epicurean's attachment and devotion to art.

It is easy to find flaws in the tomb. The carping critic would find fault with the ill-proportioned and stunted minarets, just as he could dub the excess of ornamentation as much too effeminate and inappropriate for a man's tomb. One might likewise regret the absence of a dome or object to the incongruous juxtaposition of a Hindu "Chhattri" and Muslim arches and minarets. One could again wish that the plinth and the superstructure of the edifice had been more elevated to make it statelier and more striking. Some of the architectural details too are open to criticism. For example, the arrangement of the chambers, or the placing of the staircase could have been better. All this is true. But, detractors who make such criticisms forget the limitations and handicaps under which a queen had to play the role of a builder. Jahangir's tastes lay in other directions, and Nurjahan, unaided by her royal consort, had to strike out a new line in the sphere of architecture. If Persian influence preponderated, it was hardly surprising, for the queen was born of Persian parents. And, it was only natural that the Persian-born Wazir should have been given his last resting place designed after the fashion of his own country. It is enough tribute to Nurjahan's genius that she built a monument which was destined to influence the architectural style of the age, and inspire the so-called "picture architecture" of Shahjahan's reign. A memorable instance of architecture in miniature, Nurjahan's creation is, in temper and treatment, an unforgettable contribution to Mughal architecture.

The Sitana Campaign

BY

DR. (MISS) BRIJ SAIGAL, M.A., PH.D.

Late in the month of September 1863, during the last days of Lord Elgin's stay at Simla, occured the only break in an otherwise peaceful term of his office. It was the Sitana affair which before it ended converted a minor campaign into a troublesome 'little' war. This campaign, though brief, is of considerable historical importance both in its military and its political aspects, and particularly on account of its having been undertaken in a part of the North-West Frontier never before entered by the British forces.[1]

For many years past a set of violent and fanatical outlaws from the Indian territories, chiefly from the lower provinces of Bengal, had been permitted to reside just over the border, and had settled in a village called 'Sitana', at the foot of the mountain and on the banks of the Indus, hence their name of Sitana fanatics. The origin of this colony dated back to the days when Ranjit Singh was the ruler of the Punjab.[2]

The conquest of the Punjab brought the British Government face to face with the Sitana fanatics and in 1852, owing to their numerous misdeeds, Col. Mackson crossed the Indus from Hazara with a large force and expelled them from the fort of Kotla, near Sitana. But he did not burn their headquarters. It was a grave blunder. "A frontier expedition should be swift in execution and severe in chastisement." The fanatics soon returned to their deserted homes, and kept alive the old spirit of fanaticism all along the frontier. They incited the border tribes against the British power, their atrocities reached the climax in 1858, when another expedition under the command of Sir Sydney Cotton was sent against them. He set fire to their villages, ousted them from Sitana, and raized all the dwellings to the ground. The fanatics retired farther into the interiors of the mountain fastnesses and settled at Mulka, on a northern spur of the Mahabun. But Sitana and Mulka were merely the frontier headquarters of the Wahabis. Patna was the heart and brain of the conspiracy which had been set on foot for some time without the Indian Government discovering it.[3] Sir Henry Maine[4] had rightly said, "the one great danger to the British Indian Empire is ignorance of facts."[5]

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[1] Sir George Dunbar, p. 533.

[2] (a) "Sitana Campaign", by Sir John Adye (1867), p. 16.
(b) Prichard: The Adm. of India from 1859-68, Vol. II, (1869), pp. 45-46.

With the object of protecting their territory for the future from the incursions of the Wahabis, the British Government entered into engagements with the Judoons and Utmanzais tribes against the return of the Wahabis to Sitana. But in 1862, these engagements were broken by the Judoons and the Utmanzais.[6]

The avowed object of the fanatics was the restoration of the Muhammadan rule in India by force of arms. They gained the sympathies of Muhammadans all over India and on its frontier and they were supplied with funds from all parts of India.[7] It was ascertained that the Nawab of Tonk supplied persons to join the fanatics with money to enable them to reach their settlements and they were also believed to carry on a correspondence with Bombay, Patna, Bareilly and other Muhammadan cities.[8]

By 1862, considerable additions had been made to their number which now exceeded 1500. So a need for a campaign against these lawless elements was strongly urged by R. H. Davies.[9] He was of the opinion that it would be unwise to forego the opportunity then obtaining of effecting the dispersal of the fanatics from Mulka and their removal at least to a greater distance from the frontier. He urged Lord Elgin to give due consideration to this matter and take early and necessary action.[10]

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[3] (a) Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. June 1861, Nos. 235-36.
(b) Latif, Syed Muhammad: History of the Punjab (1891), p. 586.

[4] Law Member of Lord Elgin's Council.

[5] Vide Forrest's Life of Sir Neville Chamberlain (1909), p. 415.

[6] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862, No. 191, Aug. 16, 1862.

[7] Pol. Desp. to the Secy. of State, No. 191, March 19, 1862.

[8] (a) From Secy. to the Punjab Govt., to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt., No. 463, Aug. 16, 1862.
(b) Latif, Syed Muhammad: History of the Punjab (1891), p. 586.

[9] Secretary to the Punjab Government.

But for various reasons, Lord Elgin considered that time very inopportune for such an expedition, the necessity of which in his view was neither real nor urgent.[11] Moreover, apart from the obligations to keep India safe from the foreign invasion, the British Government had always been afraid that fanatics might lead the restless and warlike tribes into widespread hostilities. Always there was the risk that failure to hit hard, rapidly, and above all, successfully, or to show any sign of weakness or hesitation might set the whole border ablaze.[12]

In July 1863, the Wahabis, however, reoccupied Sitana, and made frequent raids into the British territory, attacking the frontier villages and slaying or carrying off their peaceful traders for the sake of ransom.[13] Two months later, on September 7th, the Sitana fanatics committed an overt act of hostility by making a night attack on the camps of the Guide Corps, in which one of the attacking party was killed and the rest put to flight. The detailed reports brought out that a portion of the Judoons tribe had also joined in this attack. The British Government had, thus, for the first time, the majority, if not the whole of the Hazara border tribes arrayed against them.[14]

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[10] (a) Essays and Minutes of Col. Durand, Vol. I, (1883), p. 304.

(b) Letter from R. H. Davies to Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India, Nos. 463/617, Aug. 16, 1862.

(c) Foreign Pol. A., Progs., Sept. 1862, No. 53, from Secretary to the Punjab Govt., to Foreign Secy. to the Government of India, Nos. 475/623, Aug. 22, 1862.

[11] Letter from H. M. Durand, Secy. to the Govt. of India, to Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, No. 799, Aug. 29, 1862.

[12] Sir George Dunbar: History of India, p. 533.

[13] (a) Foreign Pol. A., Progs., Dec. 1863, Nos. 135-257, from Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India, No. 147-649, Aug. 24, 1863.

(b) Demi-Official Letter from Lt. R. G. Sandeman, Asstt. Commissioner, Yusufzai to Col. Taylor, Commissioner, Peshawar, No. 135, Aug. 18; 1863.

(c) From Commissioner, Peshawar, to Secy. to the Punjab Govt., Aug. 20, 1863.

Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, was aware that, by adopting a different policy, he might possibly avert for a time, the necessity for a campaign by a policy of divide and rule and by fomenting discord among the disaffected tribes. At the same time, however, he was also aware that this course would only defer the day of reckoning a little further, as it might encourage other tribes to action and that he would thus be losing a favourable opportunity for putting an end to that chronic frontier irritation. He was further of opinion that an expedition against these tribes would be forced on the British Government sooner or later as the fanatics were reported to have made overtures to the Akhoond of Swat, which, he held, if true, would produce a far more serious difficulty for the British to grapple with.[15]

So weighing all these considerations, Sir Robert Montgomery recommended that a military expedition be sent to compel the submission of the tribes, the expulsion of the Sitana fanatics, and to demand guarantees for the preservation of peace for the future. In his opinion, a force, consisting of not less than 5,000 infantry equipped with Artillery, was required to start on the expedition not later than October 10, 1863, for the intense cold of early winter, and the possible fall of snow during the latter part of November, might be inconvenient to the troops. It was anticipated that the expedition would last about three weeks.[16]

It was scarcely possible for Lord Elgin to resist such a pressure of professional opinion. So he consented to take the measure of repression which not a year earlier, he had resolutely discouraged.[17] He also assured Sir Robert Montgomery that he would, in the Military Department, issue orders for the marching of the troops, so that their concentration at the required points might take place as early as practicable, and not later than the 10th or the 15th of October. This, he thought would leave one clear month for operations before the snow could be expected to fall.[18] In his opinion it was not enough, nor was it advisable merely to rid the Indian frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance, namely the Sitana fanatics and their mere expulsion from the right bank of the Indus, back upon their old posts at Mulka and on the south bank of Burrendo. In that case there was the danger of their finding a shelter in Swat and thus making that fanatical tribe the future centre of disturbance on the frontier.[19] On the contrary, he thought, the aim of the expedition, if there was no serious military objection to it, should be to push up a strong column to Mungalthanah and Mulka, whilst occupying the attention of the fanatics and the allies on the line of the Indus in the neighbourhood of Sitana, thus clearing from the fanatics the compact area limited by the Burrendo to the North, the Indus to the East, and the Yusufzai frontier to the South and South-West. The second object of the expedition, according to Lord Elgin, was to be the punishment of the Judoons tribe for breaking their engagements with the British. The third object, according to Lord Elgin was the employment of the troops against the Hussainzais of the Black Mountain, if this was possible; if not, then it was to be taken during the progress of the expedition against the Mahabun tract to isolate the Hussainzais and prevent any attempt on their part to co-operate with the Wahabis.[20]

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[14] (a) Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Dec. 1863, Nos. 145-49, Sept. 15, 1863, from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Foreign Secy., Calcutta, No. 683-155 and No. 696-335, dated Sept. 7th and Sept. 12, 1863.

(b) Letters and Journals of Sir H. M. Durand, Vol. I, (1883), p. 308.

[15] Col. Reynell Taylor's Report.

[16] From Secy., Punjab Govt., to Foreign Secy. with the Governor-General, No. 156-699, Sept. 15, 1863.

[17] G. G.'s military letter to the Court, No. 105 A., Sept. 26, 1863.

One of the coolest and clearest heads in India, Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, expressed his opinion after a careful study of the whole question that, "it was very impolitic to meddle with these hill people at all, in attacking whom we had, nothing to gain and everything to risk."[21] Lord Elgin himself had always hated the notion of a border war. He had little faith in the coercive policy then favoured at Lahore, and he held that "rising officials are instinctively in favour for a good row." It was not without the greatest reluctance that he was induced to decide in favour of a military offensive, for he had a strong aversion to warlike operations in the existing state of India, and particularly on the frontier of Afghanistan. Besides he had no small distrust of those military aspirations and thirst for opportunities of distinctions which were apt to characterise the ablest officials of the frontier areas. He had prevented the expedition in the previous year. But he was assured that the recent inroads of the Wahabis were the direct consequence of the inactivity during the previous year. The authorities at Lahore insisted on the need for forestalling the Muslim plotters by a swift and telling blow at the Wahabis and all who had befriended them in violation of the promises once made to the British Government. They warned the Viceroy against the dangers of delay, pleaded for prompt action as the best security for continued peace, and assured him that the proposed campaign would be little more than a brief military promenade.[22]

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[18] Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs., Dec. 1863, Service message from Col. Durand to Secy., to the Punjab Govt., No. 153, Sept. 24, 1863.

[19] Essays and Minutes of Sir H. M. Durand, Vol. I, (1883), p. 304.

[20] (a) Letter from H. M. Durand, Foreign Secy. with the Governor-General to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 639, Sept. 24, 1863.

(b) Military Letter to the Court, No. 106 A., Oct. 3, 1863.

[21] Walrond: Sir William Denison's "Varieties of Viceregal Life".

Dreading more than ought else the chance of entanglement in the maze of frontier affairs, Lord Elgin resolved to aim a speedy and decisive blow at the nascent trouble on his frontier.[23] But the trouble was not in a nascent condition by that time, it was fully developed.[24] Writing to Sir Charles Wood on the subject, Lord Elgin stated:—

"It was my anxious desire that peace should, if possible, be maintained on the Hazara frontiers; but the overt acts charged consist in the return of the fanatics of Sitana, whence they were driven out by us some years ago; and the frontier tribes in question are held to be guilty because they have allowed them to return, to this place, although bound by treaty with us to refuse to admit them. On a review of all the circumstances, and taking to the well-known character and design of the Sitana fanatics, I came to the conclusion that the interests both of prudence and humanity would be best consulted by levelling a speedy and decisive blow at this embryo conspiracy."[25]

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[22] Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873), p. 452.

[23] Prichard, Adye; Sir John's Sitana Campaign, (1867), pp. 29-30.

[24] Forrest, G. W.: Life of Field Marshall Sir Neville Chamberlain, (1909), p. 413.

Accordingly it was arranged that the Punjab Government should at once take the necessary measures for expelling the Wahabis from Judoon, where they had congregated, and then, if circumstances permitted, proceed to destroy their place of refuge at Mulka and to punish those who had harboured the refugees.[26]

To carry out these objects, the Governor-General considered that the force to be employed should not be less in strength than that asked for by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab—namely 5,000 Infantry, with a proportionate and suitable equipment of Artillery and some Cavalry.

The decision of the Government to undertake an expedition beyond the frontier was at the same time communicated to Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief in India. But he pointed out the danger of denuding Peshawar and other stations on the frontier of the troops and of the means of transport, at the very moment when the entry of British troops at one point was likely to provoke disturbance all along the line. He further brought to the notice of the Government of India, that considerable preparations were necessary for the due equipment of a force of 5,000 men, intended to enter a hostile, difficult, and unknown country. As regards supplies, transport, ammunitions, etc., he was of the opinion that the time allowed was insufficient. Sir Hugh Rose, accordingly proposed that the disturbed frontier should be vigorously blockaded till the next spring, when a well-arranged expedition could be undertaken to implement the views of the Government.[27]

Sir Hugh Rose's advice was disregarded and, Lord Elgin was prevailed upon to set his face decidedly against this. The expedition was duly ordered and set on foot.

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[25] G. G.'s Desp. to Secy. of State, dated Sept. 1863, vide Walrond's Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873), pp. 453-54.

[26] (a) Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873), p. 453.
(b) Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs., Sept. 1863, No. 53.

[27] (a) Prichard Adye, Sir John, "Sitana Campaign", (1867), p. 31.
(b) Essays and Minutes of Col. Durand, Vol. I, (1883), p. 308.
(c) The Earl of Elgin, by George M. Wrong, Chap. VII.

"I wish", he wrote, "by a sudden and vigorous blow to check this trouble on our frontier while it is in a nascent condition. The other plan would give it several months to foster and to extend itself; and if there be among the Muhammadan populations in these regions the disposition to combine against us which is alleged, and which is indeed the justification of the measure proposed, how far might not the roots of the conspiracy stretch themselves at that time? The Afghans in their distracted state might furnish sympathisers; we should be invited to interfere in their internal affairs, in order to oppose those among them who are abetting our Muhammadan adversaries; in short, there is no end to the complications in which this postponement of active operations might involve us. Everything is more or less uncertain in such affairs; but in the absence of any very palpable blunder, what we actually propose to do would appear to be a pretty safe proceeding. The main purpose is to expel the fanatics from Judoon, and it is hardly possible that we should fail in this, as they are within easy reach of us there. The further object of punishing other tribes, and destroying the refuge of the fanatics at Mulka—may be abandoned, if it be deemed advisable, without any loss of prestige, though of course with some abatement of the completeness of the movement. I therefore, thought it necessary to adhere to my original resolution."[28]

When the Government finally decided on military measures, the plan of attack was fully discussed in both its military and political bearings, including the difficulties attending both. From the military point of view, the salient position of the Mahabun as regards their own territories, and its comparative isolation from the adjoining ranges, seemed to offer facilities for attacking the fanatics and their instigators without penetrating far into the border, or coming into collision with others. There were, however, difficulties, for example, it might be possible to pass over a crest between seven and eight thousand feet high, to the attack of a strong village of Mulka on the northern slope, but it was not likely to be an easy operation, nor was it one which could be carried out without considerable loss of life.[29]

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[29] (a) Foreign Pol. A., Progs., Dec. 1863, No. 165.
(b) "Sitana Campaign", (1867), p. 21.

A consideration of the ground, however, seemed to indicate the possibility of an easier and more complete course. The Chumla Valley, lay at the feet of the northern slopes of the Mahabun and communicated with the British territory by means of a narrow gorge called 'Ambeylah Pass'. It was therefore supposed, that by marching a strong force from Yusufzai rapidly through the pass and up the valley, it would be possible to occupy an advantageous position, standing between the fanatics and their only line of retreat. The enemy would thus find their position bypassed instead of being stormed and thus the British troops could proceed to destroy Mulka, to break up the fanatic force, and to coerce the other tribes.[30]

Looking then at the proposal as a military venture, and directed solely against an enemy on the Mahabun, it doubtless seemed feasible enough. But, as the Chumla Valley was only divided by a narrow belt of hills from the country of Bunairs, it was evident that the force entering by the Ambeylah Pass would arrive at the very threshold of a powerful tribe, whose fighting men numbered, according to official estimates, about twelve thousand. The disposition of the Bunairs, therefore, became a serious political consideration. The Bunairs were a warlike and fanatical tribe, living on the other side of the Gooroo Mountain.[31]

The political officers were also against the above plan. The plan favoured by them was to advance upon the enemy stronghold by the east and south approaches of the Mahabun mountain. The tribes in that direction were not so formidable as those likely to be encountered in the advance of "Ambeylah" and it could be hoped that, by avoiding any near approach to the Bunair country, the British would avoid any hostile demonstration from them or from the Swatees. The physical difficulties of attacking the Mahabun position were not probably greater than those which were subsequently encountered at "Ambeylah". The authorities could have avoided, at any rate, a show of hostility, at the head of the Bunair Pass.[32]

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[30] Prichard: Adm. of India, from 1859-68, Vol. II, (1869), p. 46.

[31] Mr. Temple's report showing the relations of the British Govt. with the tribes in the North-West Frontier.

[32] The Punjab and the N. W. Frontier, Chap. V, pp. 48-49.

But the Government of India were assured that no hostility need be feared from the Bunairs as they had been peaceful neighbours for the past fifteen years.[33] They had no sympathy for the fanatics, as they differed on points of doctrine, and they were under the sway of the "Akhoond of Swat",[34] who hated the fanatics, and denounced them as Wahabis.[35]

The proposed movement through the "Ambeylah" Pass was therefore decided on. But there was another feature in the case which must be noticed, that, however ready the British were to rely on the apathy of the Bunairs, they carefully concealed from them their plan of operation. This may have been expedient but was hardly wise and tactful. They were about to march by a circutous route to accomplish their object on Mahabun, and yet they purposely omitted to inform a powerful tribe whose valley lay in the immediate vicinity of their line of march.[36]

By the middle of October, 5,000 troops of all arms, with a battery of three nine-pounders and eight mountain guns, the whole commanded by Sir Neville Chamberlain, were in full march from Peshawar across the Yusafzai countries towards the pass of Ambeylah, which climbs the mountain range that divides British territory from the highlands of Bunair and the Chumla Valley.[37]

Considering the hasty manner in which the expedition was planned, the very difficult country to be operated in, and the powerful combination which the force had to fight against, the Government were most fortunate in their selection of the officer appointed to the command. Sir Neville Chamberlain's great name, his long experience, and his well-known character, were indeed sufficient guarantees of the ultimate success of the enterprise. It was a happy circumstance that in the serious combinations and hard battles which ensued, a man of such rare energy and never failing courage held the command.[38]

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[33] Prichard: Adm. of India, from 1859-68, Vol. II, (1869), p. 47.

[34] His position with regard to the tribes was compared to that held by the Pope in relation to the Catholic countries.

[35] Col. Taylor's Report.

[36] Prichard: Sir John Adye's "Sitana Campaign", (1867), p. 26.

[37] (a) Life of Sir Neville Chamberlain, by G. W. Forrest, (1909), pp. 412-13.

(b) Essays and Minutes of Sir H. M. Durand, Vol. I, (1883), p. 306.

On the 20th, the main body entered the pass, Col. Wilde leading the way with his Guide Corps and a regiment of the 1st Punjab Infantry under Major Keyes.[39] General Chamberlain after entering the Ambeylah Pass, said :—

"I should here mention that on the afternoon of the 19th October 1863, when it would be too late for the Chumla or other tribes to make any preparations on a large scale for impeding the march of the troops through the Ambeylah Pass, a proclamation was forwarded by the Commissioner to the Chumla and Bunair tribes, stating the object with which the force was about to enter the Chumla Valley, and assuring them that it was with no intention of injuring them, or of interfering with their independence, but solely because it was the most convenient route by which to reach the Hindustanee fanatics, and to effect their expulsion from the Mahabun."

But the question was, in what light were the Bunairs likely to regard the sudden and the unexpected arrival of British troops in their homeland. Major James, who was the Commissioner when peace was made, alluding to these circumstances, wrote :—

"Even supposing, therefore, that the proclamations actually reached their destinations, was it likely that a brave race of ignorant men would pause to consider the purport of a paper they could not read, when the arms of a supposed invader were glistening at their doors?"[40]

So the Bunairs could see only an armed force advancing over the border into their ground, and they naturally read the peaceful profession of the British in the light of their own cunning practices. From the village of Ambeylah, at the northern end of the Pass, they sent out bands of men who, on the evening of the 20th October, and then on the 22nd night, swooped down from various points on the British camp, and kept their troops employed nearly all night in repelling their fierce though desultory onslaughts.[41] To advance without due supplies and reinforcements in the face of these new foes seemed to be impossible at first. Nothing remained for the British army, but to entrench itself at the foot of the Pass and keep a watch on the adjacent heights.[42] Thus, the intended advance of Mulka was not only delayed, but it became of secondary importance in the context of the altered state of affairs.[43]

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[38] (a) G. G.'s Military Letter to the Court, No. 106 A., Oct. 3, 1863.
(b) Sir John Adye's "Sitana Campaign", (1867), pp. 32-33.
(c) Forrest, G. W.: Life of Sir N. Chamberlain (1909), p. 445.

[39] Prichard: Adm. of India, from 1859-68, Vol. II, (1869), p. 48.

[40] Report on the settlement of the Peshawar District, by Major Hugh R. James, C. B.

Day after day and night after night the Bunair men, strengthened by bands of Sitana fanatics and of hill-men from Swat, renewed their attacks with amazing courage. By the end of October, nearly all the tribes between the Kabul frontier and the Indus had laid aside their own tribal quarrels to make common cause with the men of Bunair and Mahabun.[44] In spite of some timely reinforcements, Sir Chamberlain could do no more than shift his camp to some higher ground, and employ his working parties in making roads to guard his rear.[45] For three weeks of November the fighting went on after a fashion which taxed to the utmost the courage and endurance of the British troops. The Eagle-Crag post commanding the British right was twice in eight days carried by the enemy with an overwhelming rush which cost the lives of many officers and men. On the second occasion two officers and twenty-six men of the 101st Fusiliers[46] lay dead on the rock which Major Dellafosse had vainly striven to hold with only fifty men, after an equal number led by another officer had too quickly found their way to the rear.[47] On each occasion the ground so lost was speedily recovered—on the 13th November by Col. Salusbury of the 101st foot,[48] and on the 20th November by the 71st Highlanders under Col. Hope.[49]

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[41] Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs, from 1858-66 (1867), p. 137.

[42] From Brigadier Genl. Chamberlain to Sir Robert Montgomery, No. 158, Oct. 23, 1863.

[43] (a) Prichard Adye, Sir John's "Sitana Campaign", (1867), p. 41.
(b) Papers relating to the disturbances in the North-West Frontier of India, presented to the Parliament, 1864.

[44] Chamberlain's Desp. to the Govt. of India, Oct. 31, 1863.

[45] Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Dec. 1863, No. 180, Nov. 7, 1863. Service Message from Genl. Chamberlain to Lt.-Governor of Punjab, No. 181, Nov. 8, 1863.

[46] The old First Bengal Fusiliers.

In the course of fighting upto November 20, 1863, 14 English Officers, 17 Indian Officers with 213 men were killed and 15 English Officers, 17 Indian Officers with 468 men were wounded including General Chamberlain and Col. Hope.[50]

The aspect of affairs was certainly gloomy. The enemy, although they had not succeeded in driving the British out of the mountains, had certainly prevented them from fulfilling the objects of the expedition. British losses in action were considerable, and their troops were falling sick from constant exposure, night-watches, and over-exertion. The mere expense which was being incurred was out of all proportion to the original objects of the expedition.

Taking a general view of the British position on the frontier, one would admit that it certainly was an insecure one—insecure not only from the point of view of the defective military organization, but also from the point of view of its geographical features. Their only defences were a few weekly fortified posts, dotted here and there at long intervals, at the foot of the hills, not under the Commander-in-Chief, and with the exception of Peshawar, there were no English soldiers to be seen. It was true that the tribes possessed neither any military organization, nor sufficient resources which could enable them to overrun the plains with a view to conquest; but, secure in their native fastness they could atleast swoop down and plunder almost at will the low lying plains. Mr. Temple wrote :—

"The British Government has indeed organised an excellent defensive system; it has built or fitted up no less than fifteen forts and fifty posts of various kinds on this frontier, it has caused many hundreds of miles to be petrolled. But the unvarying experience of six years has proved that success thus cannot be attained, though doubtless the mode of defence is good and useful in its way."[51]

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[47] Chamberlain's Desp. to the Govt. of India, Oct. 31, 1863.

[48] Chamberlain to Sir Hugh Rose, C.-in-C., No. 190, Nov. 13, 1863.

[49] (a) Service Message from Col. Wilde to Sir Hugh Rose, No. 207, Nov. 21, 1863.

(b) Service Message from Lt.-Governor, Punjab, to Sir R. Napier, No. 204, Nov. 22, 1863.

[50] (a) "Sitana", by Sir John Adye (1867), pp. 69-72.

(b) Neville: Campaign on North-West Frontier from 1849-1908 (1912), pp. 50-62.

If the military position was serious, the political one was perhaps, even less promising. The British march beyond the border had not only aroused and exasperated the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, but the frontier, it may be said, for hundreds of miles had been set in commotion. Even at Kabul there was some sympathy for, if not a promise of, active support to the tribes. And there was another danger, perhaps, even greater than the rest. Faithful and courageous as the Indian Frontier Regiments had as yet proved themselves to be, it was unlikely that they could go on month after month fighting against their kith and kin, opposing their spiritual pastor—the Akhoond of Swat, suffering severe losses, and yet, so far as their limited means enabled them to judge without such prospect of ultimate success.[52] The ties of discipline had not yet given way, but there was surely a limit to the faithful endurance of mercenaries. Major Hugh R. James, C. B., an officer of great ability and mature experience in frontier policy, who arrived from England at this crisis, and had just joined the forces as Civil Commissioner expressed his opinion in these words:—[53]

"Meanwhile the excitment was spreading far and wide. The Muhammadans on the Peshawar border were beginning to make hostile demonstrations at Shubkudder,[54] for the first time since their signal defeat near the same place in 1852, by the late Lord Clyde. Rumours were also reaching me from Kohat of expected raids by the Wazeerees and Othmankhail. Emissaries from Kabul and Jellalabad were with the Akhoond of Swat, who had been further reinforced by Gujar Khan, the Chief of Dhar and 6,000 men. On December 5th, the Muhammadans made a raid into our territory at Shubkudder in repelling which Lieutenant Bishop was killed."[55]

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[51] Report showing the relations of the British Govt. with the tribes on the N. W. Frontier, by Mr. Temple.

[52] But these noble troops remained faithful till the end and swept away all opposition like wind.

[53] Report on the settlement of Peshawar District, by Major Hugh James, Commissioner.

[54] A small outpost in the Peshawar Valley at the foot of the mountain.

Major James added that it was truly a dangerous and formidable combination, and that immediate action was necessary, to save the Government from a war not only with border tribes, and their many subjects both in Peshawar and Kohat, but in Afghanistan too.

The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab had, doubtless, given long and anxious consideration to this untoward aspect of affairs; and at length, when the telegrams of Sir Neville Chamberlain arrived, announcing the severe actions of November 18th and 20th, he looked upon the matter as so serious that he was actually prepared to advocate the immediate withdrawal of the whole force to the plains, and the abandonment of the expedition.

The situation looked entirely cheerless when on November 20, 1863, Lord Elgin suddenly died at the small hill-station of Dharmsala in Kangra District. Six days after the death of Lord Elgin, the supreme council ordered the withdrawal of General Chamberlain's force as soon as it could be done without the risk of military disaster or without seriously compromising the prestige of the Government of India. Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief was very much opposed to the proposed course of action, he pointed out the danger of such a policy and the loss of prestige which would necessarily follow. He not only remonstrated; he acted, and ordered large reinforcements to proceed by forced marches to the frontier.[56] Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, who became the Governor-General on the death of Lord Elgin, landed at Calcutta on December 2, 1863. He was both a soldier and a statesman, and saw that "a movement in retreat" would be considered by the mountain tribes as an equivalent to a victory, and the moral effect of such a move upon the troops would be of the worst description. He, therefore, induced the members of the Supreme Council to reconsider and ultimately to cancel their first decision.[57]

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[55] From Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, to G.-G.-in-Council, Calcutta, No. 239, Dec. 6, 1863.

[56] Prichard: Adm. of India, from 1859-68 (1869), Vol. II, pp. 60-61.

The idea of withdrawal was thus abandoned and Sir William Denison, the acting Viceroy at once telegraphed to Lahore, expressing his entire confidence in the measures of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose, and desired that the military operations be continued with vigour. The result was that as soon as sufficient reinforcements reached the mountain, General Garvock, who had succeeded Genl. Chamberlain in the command, on December 15, met the enemy in great strength on the crest of the mountain above 'Laloo', and struck them a blow which sent them back staggering into the Chumla Valley.[58] Following them up, he again defeated them at the foot of the 'Bunair' hills, in the presence of the assembled thousands of the confederate tribes and the war collapsed at once.[59]

Thus ended the little frontier war of 1863. Looked upon at the outset as a mere excursion to drive off a few fanatical outlaws who had long infested the borders, it eventually grew into considerable war. The frontier tribes, under the belief that their religion and country were in danger combined against the British. It is true that the authorities accomplished their original object in the end, but the anxiety, the expense, and the losses incurred, were out of all proportion to the success achieved and the long detention of the Indian troops perhaps injured their prestige. In retrospect, therefore, the campaign would not appear altogether satisfactory, yet the experience gained was valuable, and well worth careful consideration.[60]

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[57] Minute by Sir William Denison, Dec. 2, 1863.

[58] Service Message from R. H. Davies, Secy., Punjab Govt., to Foreign Secy., Calcutta, No. 250, Dec. 15, 1863.

[59] (a) Colonel Sir John Adye's "Sitana" (1867), p. 81.
(b) Prichard: Adm. of India from 1859-68 (1869), Vol. II, pp. 61-66.
(c) Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs from 1858-66 (1867), pp. 137-38.
(d) Parliamentary papers relating to the disturbances in the North-West Frontier, 1864.

[60] "Sitana Campaign", by Sir John Adye, (1867), p. 91.

Reviews

ANCIENT JAINA HYMNS (Scindia Oriental Series No. 2) edited by Charlottee Krause. Published by the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, 1952.

This book contains the following eight Jaina hymns:—

(1) Munisuvrata-stavana.
(2) Devakulādinātha-stavana.
(3) Varakāṇa-Pārśvanātha-stavana.
(4) Śaṅkheśvara-Pārśvanātha-stavana.
(5) Tīrthamālā-Caityavandanā.
(6) Vīra-stuti.
(7) Mahāvīra-stuti and.
(8) Sīmandhara-stavana.

All these hymns do not belong to the Jain Canon. It is difficult to call all these hymns ancient, as we know that the author of the *Munisuvrata-stavana* was Jñānasāgara sūri, who lived in the middle and the second half of the 15th century A.D. according to Winternitz = (*History of Indian Literature,* II, p. 541). Really speaking this hymn was the compilation of the mediaeval age and not ancient. In the Preface the editor has given some details of the hymns occurring in this book. In the Introduction many interestnig data have been collected, which will be helpful to those interested in Jainism. It should have been noted (p. 2) that with the Jainas as well as with the Brahmin writers Jambudvīpa as a continent was thought of as of much wider extension than Jambudvīpa as known to the Buddhist (vide my *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism,* Chap. I).

Utsarpiṇīs and *avasarpiṇīs* referred to make up a *Kālacakra* or the twelve spoked wheel of time. There are six spokes in *avasarpiṇī* beginning with happiness and ending in utmost misery. *Utsarpiṇī* has also the same number of spokes. The *ghāti* and *aghātikarmas* are discussed here, each having four types. It should be noted that the four kinds of destructive *karmas* (*ghātikarmas*) retain the soul in mundane existence. Much has been said about

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Kevalins (p. 19) but it ought to have been pointed out that *aparisesa* in early Buddhism is just a synonym of the Jain term *kevala*. The Buddhist Nikāyas (e.g., *Majjhima I*, pp. 92-93; II, p. 31; *Aṅguttara, I*, 220; IV, 428) tell us that the Jains claimed that *Mahāvīra* was all-knowing and all-seeing and endowed with unlimited knowledge and vision, who also could declare that whether he was walking or standing still, sleeping or awake, unlimited knowledge and vision were constantly his—continuous and unperturbed. About *syādvāda* the explanation given by the editor is not very clear. *Syādvāda* forms the basis of Jain metaphysics and dialectics. It is a doctrine which is very imperfectly understood. This doctrine was formulated as a scheme of thought in which there is room for consideration of all points of view and of all ideals. It stands out as an intellectual idea of that harmony among men, which is based upon mutual understanding. The *syād* mode was the real way of escape from the position of the dogmatist and that of the sceptic, from both of which Mahāvīra recoiled.

Some of the remarks made on the texts seem to be acceptable. Nothing has been said about the geographical position of *Supratiṣṭhanagara*. Is it a *nagara* or a *Cetiya* (*Caitya*)? A reference to it is invited in the Vinaya texts (SBE), I. pp. 136 ff. It is unwise to identify *Dharmacakra* (?) in page 55 with modern Taxila. *Pratiṣṭhānaka* also called *Pratiṣṭhānapura*, according to the *Vividhatirtha-kalpa*, was a flourishing town during the rule of the Sātavahana kings. It is modern Paiṭhāna on the northern bank of the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad. Why are the *Vaitāḍhya* and the *Aṣṭāpada* mythological? According to the *Jambuddīva-paṇṇatti* (I. 12) the *Vaitāḍhya* (Vindhya ?) mountain divides India into two halves: the northern half (*uttarārdha*), later called Āryāvarta, and the southern half (*dākṣiṇārdha*), later called Dākṣiṇāṭya or the Deccan (*Bharahe vāse Veyaddhe nāmaṃ pavvaye paṇṇatte: uttaraddha—Bharahavāsassa dāhiṇenaṃ dāhiṇabharahavāsassa uttareṇaṃ*). The list of nine peaks associated with the *Vaitāḍhya* range begins with siddhāyatana and ends in Tamisrāguhā (*Jambuddiva-paṇṇatti*, I. 12). The *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* connects the *Vidyādharas* with the *Vaitāḍhya* range and speaks of their eighteen settlements. The *Aṣṭāpada* may be identified with the Kailāsa mountain. It is a great Jain *tīrtha* or holy place. Many sages and sons of Riṣabha attained perfection on this mountain. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 6), it is also called *Hemakūṭa.* The *Kailāsa* is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of *Mānasa-sarovara.* The *Badarikāśrama* is said to be situated on this mountain. The *Kailāsa* range runs parallel to the Ladakh range, 50 miles behind the latter.

Regarding *Śivapura* in page 56, it ought to have been noticed that Saṃkhyāvatī was the earlier name of Ahicchatra with which *Śivapura* is identified. *Ahicchatra* was also known as Chatrāvatī according to the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 14).

The notes on many important places and on the texts are very scanty. She ought to have referred to some up to date books dealing fully with some important localities, such as *Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Pāṭaliputra* (*Pāḍalīpura*) (vide my *Indological Studies,* Pt. III).

The Bibliography is not full and complete. A mere mention of the *Bhagavatī sūtra* (Āgamodaya samiti, Bombay, 1918-21) is not very helpful. Dr. Weber's *Fraugment der Bhagavatī,* Berlin, 1866, is worthy of notice. Weber and Schubring in *über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī,* in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1865; Worte Mahāvīras deserve mention. Schubring has translated some portions of this text into German. An incomplete Gujarati translation appeared in 1927 at Ahmedabad. The *Prajñāpanā sūtra* (*Paṇṇavaṇā*) has been published in the *Āgamasagraha series* with Malayagiri's commentary and sanskrit translation (1884). Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādigama sūtra* has been edited with the commentary by Keshavlal Premchand Mody in *Bibliothica Indica series* (1903-1905). J. L. Jaini's edition of the text with Introduction, translation, notes and commentary in English published in 1930 in the *Sacred Books of the Jains,* Vol. II and Jacobi's German translation in *Z.D.M.G.,* Band LX 1906 deserve mention. It is a pity, that Jarl Charpentier's edition of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* with a valuable introduction, critical notes and a commentary has escaped the attention of the editor.

There are some more mistakes unnoticed in the corrigenda: On page 71—*Representative* should be *Representatives. Vividhatīrtha-*

kalpa should be correctly written (See page 17 f.n.) On pages 86 and 135 *B. G. Bhandarkar* should be *R. G. Bhandarkar.*

It is a pity that writers on Jainism do not care to present a comparative study of their subjects under discussion. Here the same defect is visible. There is no doubt that much light may be thrown on Jainism by the parallel study of Hindu and Buddhist texts. As for example, the *Thera-therīgāthās* or the psalms of early Buddhist brothers and sisters, contain some excellent praise-songs scattered here and there.

The book under review will be found useful by readers of Jainism inspite of some inaccuracies in it.

B. C. Law

"THE PUNJAB IN 1839-40" (Selections from the Punjab Akhbar, Punjab intelligence, etc., preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi) edited by Dr. Ganda Singh, M.A., PH.D., Director of Archives—Patiala and EPS Union—Sikh History Society (Amritsar, 1952).

Well known as the author of several works on Sikh history Dr. Ganda Singh now edits The News-letters called the Punjab Akhbar (1839-41), the Lahore Akhbar, etc. under the title of "The Punjab in 1839-40"; the work was entrusted to him by the National Archives of India, New Delhi for publication on behalf of the Sikh History Society, Amritsar, according to their Five-Year Publication scheme iii (B).

The volume under review is a collection of news-letters like (1) Bahawalpur intelligence, (2) Deraismail Khan news, (3) Hill intelligence, (4) Hindustan news, (5) Kabul News, (6) Kashmir intelligence, (7) Peshawar news, (8) Punjab Akhbar, Lahore Akhbar and Punjab intelligence. The lucid introduction (30 pages) by Ganda Singh, the Editor of the volume, deals with the various aspects of the affairs of Punjab after the death of Ranjit Singh like the Anglo-Sikh relations, the Afghan-Sikh relations, and the successors of Ranjit Singh, etc., as seen in these news-letters. There is an index to the news-letters arranged both chronologically as well as according to Akhbars which makes for easy reference.

These Akhbars throw a welcome light not only on the political events of the historic seventeen months covered by them, but they are also a mine of information on the administrative sysem of the then Punjab Government and on the official and private lives of the Maharajas and their courtiers. They serve as useful guides on the social and economic conditions of the people and the benevolent efforts of the rulers for the happiness and welfare of their subjects. These Akhbars further throw much welcome light on the character and personality of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, popularly known as 'The Lion of Punjab.' There are two appendixes at the end, one a glossary of oriental words and terms, and the other a brief chronology of political events giving a bird's eye view of the period covered by the Akhbars. The pages of the original Delhi Volume of these Akhbars are given in the margin of the printed pages which will facilitate reference to the originals in the National Archives. There is a good index also making for easy reference. The volume is on the whole very well produced.

K. A. NEELAKANTA SASTRI.

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE: Vol. III THE CLASSICAL AGE (1954). Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pages lx and 745; 43 plates. Price Rs. 35.

The authorities of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan deserve to be congratulated on the punctual appearance of the third volume in their ten-volume History of the Indian People directed by Sri K. M. Munshi and edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. D. Pusalkar. This volume covers the period of the Gupta Empire and the subsequent history down to A.D. 750. It maintains the leading trait of the series viz. to devote more attention to the Social and Cultural aspects of the story than to the purely political side, and the narrative of dynastic struggles and wars does not occupy too large a space. The political history, particularly of the North, is generally complete and up-to-date, and a great amount of authentic information on social and economic history has been culled and presented systematically for the first time. This general stock-taking will be seen in due course, one hopes, to have paved the way for further researches calculated to fill in the details of the outline now presented. One notes, however, with regret that students of

Indian historical and cultural subjects, particularly in India, are becoming fewer day by day; at any rate they do not seem to be forthcoming in adequate numbers.

The presentation of the subject matter is generally matter of fact, and one lays the book down with some disappointment that there is little attempt anywhere, not even in the chapters on the Golden Age of the Guptas, at creating a living picture likely to stay impressed in the mind of the reader. This, however, is not a reflection on this particular volume or project of history, as a general shortcoming common to much of the writing in our country at the time. English is as yet the only common language of scientific discourse, but it is under sentence of death passed by the dominant political party—individual protests notwithstanding, and the effect is already traceable in an alarming disregard of standards in the writing of English. Few Indian Languages, however, have been sufficiently modernized to serve as vehicles of modern thought, and there are not many writers in any of them who can command a wide circle of readers.

The foreword (20 pages) contributed by Sri K. M. Munshi, is an attempt to apply the philosophy of history to the period covered by the volume; but it is difficult to say that the reader gets better light or a convincing synthesis here. Phrases like 'race memory and tradition' (viii-ix) and 'small-state-mindedness' (xxiii) really explain little, but are just descriptions of facts noticed with no account of their origin. An extreme example, perhaps, of this rather otiose philosophy is the following: 'Even in A.D. 1944, India, then under foreign rule, spontaneously held the second millennial celebrations of the reign of a Vikramāditya around whom the glorious memory of the great Gupta emperor had created a halo. It was a unique tribute of posterity to this great Vikramāditya who, in the Collective Unconscious of India, symbolised the highest aspirations of national greatness' (xii). Again: 'The mass of the people did not feel that the conquest of Śri Harsha were their own triumph; and this amazing statement is precursor to a more surprising elucidation: 'The internationalism, for which Buddhism stood, negatived the building up of a compact unity rooted in the land. He could conquer; he could not build. The way of the Guptas was, therefore, barred to him' (xviii), because 'at the height of his career Śrī Harsha was an ardent Buddhist' (xvii).

In the body of the work, emphasis is laid rightly on some neglected aspects of the subject. The narrative of successive failures of the early Muslim inroads into India after the occupation of Sindh (pp. 166-75), the discovery of the syllogism in India earlier than in Greece or at least independently of Greek influence (p. 461), and the appearance of the true arch in the fourth or fifth century A.D. in India (p. 516) are instances. But any reader, particularly in South India, is bound to be struck by the lack of balance in the volume as a whole arising out of a failure to give India south of the Vindhyas its proper place in the history of the period. It has moreover succumbed to the 'glamour about the Guptas.' We are assured that 'the Gupta Age was mostly a product of the Gupta Empire' (xlii). Accordingly the limits of that empire are stretched unduly. Samudragupta is said to have advanced 'up to the Pallava Kingdom, possibly beyond the City of Madras' (p. 10). His empire included the 'highlands of Chattisgarh and Orissa with a long stretch of territory along the eastern coast extending as far south as Chingleput and probably even further' (p. 12); 'his march along the coastal regions makes it likely that the land operations were aided by the navy' (pp. 13-14)—both statements which are mere guesses which derive no warrant from and are even opposed to the tenor of the Allahabad *praśasti* and some express statements in it. The attitude to South Indian history is apparent from the statements: 'the history of India beyond the Vindhyas occupies a place only of secondary interest,' and 'the Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas ably continued the work of the Guptas' (xlvi). The architecture and art of Ajanta are said to be the 'good harvest' of the rich heritage of Gupta art, 'already on the decline in Northern India as a result of the disruption of the Gupta Empire' (p. 472). It is a question how far cultural movements were dependent on the fortunes of ruling dynasties, and it is to confuse the issue to confer the title Gupta on everything contemporaneous with the Guptas and many things long posterior to them. The Gupta Empire was confined to Northern India and did not comprise the whole of it; Ajaṇṭā and Ellora, Kāñcīpuram and Śittannavāśal, Vākāṭakas, Chāḷukyas and Pallavas represent independent movements in politics and culture with which the Guptas had not much to do, and nothing can be gained by obscuring this major fact of history. The obsession of the writers in this volume is so great as to lead one of them to affirm: 'Indeed, the connection between these two *rathas* (Arjuna and Dharmarāja at Māmallapuram) and the storeyed temples of the Gupta period is too obvious to be missed' (p. 507)—an affirmation not borne out by the illustrations in the book which glaringly contradict it; in fact the *rathas* have nothing in common with the Gupta temple and to suggest a connection between them is to confuse Indian art History.

Much of this is perhaps due to almost the whole volume having been written by a few scholars from Bengal, all wedded apparently to a particular way of thinking. All but a hundred out of about 650 pages of text is the work of just four scholars—the editor himself writing 250 pages, another 113, a third 90 and a fourth 75. To the editor's personal bias is also to be traced the steady running down of Harshavardhana coupled with the belittling of the authority of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang, and the exaltation of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍ to the 'rank of a national hero' (pp. 107, 110, etc.).

The chapter on art contains much vague writing more inscrutable than usual in such 'aesthetic' writing—see e.g. pp. 519, 521, 523 and so on. The identification of the dancing couple in the Śittannavāśal painting with Mahendravarman I and his queen (p. 547) is very doubtful; the painting itself is now seen to be much later than Mahendravarman's time, and probably of Pāṇḍyan origin. Modern Archaeology has illuminated the travel diaries of the Chinese pilgrims relating to Central Asia in a far greater measure than is conceded in the section on Central Asia (p. 616); indeed their full significance was discovered only by the archaeological explorations after 1900. There can be little justification for the reader being confronted with two divergent accounts of Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy and chronology in Chapter XI and its appendix; or for the date of Kālidāsa being left indeterminate on the wide berth between the dates 100 B.C. and A.D. 450 (p. 303).

Some minor details that caught the present reviewer's attention as he read the volume are noted below:

p. xiv—The iron pillar of Allahabad.

p. xviii—Pulakeśin 'Lord of the three Mahārāshṭras containing 999 villages' (Aihoḷe inscription has 99,000).

p. xviii—Mahendravarman captured Pulakeśin's capital; *contra* p. 260 where this is correctly assigned to Narasimhavarman I.

p. 50 n. 2—'The latest view is that of B. Ghirshman who places the accession of Kanishka in A.D. 144 (JA. CC xxxiv, 99).' This statement ignores the criticism of this view by a Dutch scholar in a book on 'The Scythian Period.'

pp. 64-5 and 194.—Gurjaras not foreigners in the first context, but foreigners in the second;

pp. 104 and 236—Contradictory statements on the Malavas *Vis a Vis* Pulakeśin, the Aihoḷe record being differently interpreted on the two pages.

p. 130—Because Vinayāditya captured the symbols of Gangā —and Yamunā from the northern Kings, it is inferred that the battle must have been fought in the Gangā-Yamunā doab.

p. 130—Yaśovarman's defeat of the Pārasīkas is taken to be his conquest of the Arabs of Sindh.

p. 256—The evidence of the crown of the shape of an elephant's head belittled in a discussion of Pallava origins.

p. 258—Samudragupta's invasion of the Deccan called 'a punitive expedition.'

p. 259—The Pallavas are said to have opposed the rise of Pulakeśin to power—this is now out of date.

pp. 261 and 506—Contradict each other on Narasimhavarman's foundation of Māmallapuram.

p. 271—Mayūraśarman is said to have violated the 'pass-port regulation' of the Pallavas at Kāñchī.

pp. 326-40—Scant justice done to secular literature in Tamil. Periāḻvār (p. 332) becomes Periyāḻvār (336).

p. 422—China seems to stand for Chinna Ganjam.

p. 486—Vātāpīpura.

pp. 528-9—Paṭṭaḍakal.

p. 538 & elsewhere—Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal.

p. 553—*Śrī* Jayavarma—*Śrī* not visible on seal in pl. xliii.

p. 591. l. 15—'morning' for 'forming' or some such word.

p. 593—Inscription recording an endowment with oil men's guild in modern Uttar Pradesh for a Sun temple. No reference is given.

K. A. NEELAKANTA SASTRI.

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW AND JUSTICE by R. K. Choudary with a Foreword by Prof. P. K. Gode, Motilal Banarsidass, Bankipore, Patna—4. 1953, pp. vii and 68, Price Rs. 4-8-0.

This small booklet is a collection of a number of light papers written at different times. These papers, while they give evidence of a good range of reading and a capacity for clear thinking are generally too scrappy to be considered as serious contributions to the topics handled. There are also many minor flaws. At p. 6 for instance a Upanishadic statement is ascribed to Dr. Barua and at p. 51 we read: "If any lawyer accepted more than the prescribed fees, he was charged with the crime of professional misconduct." One wonders where the writer gets this very modern rule in relation to ancient India. And then he talks of Sen, Mazumdar and so on without giving clues to the proper identity of the authors cited. But there is no doubt that the young author can go much further if he applies himself seriously to the subject and Prof. P. K. Gode's Foreword is perhaps the expression of a similar hope on his part.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session, Jaipur, 1951, pp. iv and 392., Printed by S. N. Guha Ray, Sree Sarasvaty Press Ltd., 32, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9 Price Rs. 15/- only.

The Proceedings of the fourteenth session of the Indian History Congress just published follow the usual pattern except that the printing and the paper have improved. There is no presidential address under Section IV, Later Mediaeval Period, 1526—1764 and no explanation is offered for this omission. It would be both difficult and invidious to comment on individual papers of such unequal merit as are gathered here. One would like to say however that the papers should be selective and arranged on some intelligible principle. It may also be worth while for the Indian History Congress organisation to consider the possibility of a consolidated index for the first 15 volumes of its Proceedings.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Select Contents of Periodicals

I. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Annals of the-) Vol. XXXIV, Parts I-IV, 1953.

1. *Studies in the Inscriptions of Asoka,* No. I(B) *Edict of Asoka on the Public benefactions of Queen Caruvaki* (the *so-called Queen's Edict*) by C. D. Chatterjee.
2. *The Problem of the Kusanas and the origin of the Vikrama Samvat* by S. K. Dikshit.

II. *Bihar Research Society*—Journal of the Vol. XXXIX, Part 4, December 1953, Patna.

1. *The Vedic Gana and the Origin of the Post-Vedic Republics* by Ram Sharan Sharma.
2. *The Indian Movement of 1857-59 and its reactions abroad* by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta.

III. *Bihar Research Society*—Journal of the, Vol. XL, Part 1, March, 1954.

1. *Bihar in the Agni-Purana* by Yogendra Mishra.
2. *A Supplementary Note on the Barli Inscription* by D. C. Sircar.
3. *Zodiacal Light in the Ṛgveda* by Shri Stanislaw F. Michalski.
4. *Pushyamitra Sunga and the Buddhists* by Shri Hari Kishore Prasad.
5. *Caste and Marriage in Ancient India* (C. *600* B.C.-C. *500* A.D.) by Prof. Ram Sharan Sharma.

IV. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX, Part 1, January, 1951, New Delhi.

1. *Two Pala Plates from Belwa* by D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund.
2. *Kolhapur Inscription of Silahara Bhoja II;* Saka 1104 by Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Saugar.

3. *Maser Inscription of a Sulki Chief* by M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund.

V. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, Part 2, April, 1951, New Delhi.

1. *Sadasivagad Plates of Kadamba Vijayaditya; Saka* 1102 by P. B. Desai.
2. *Two Sailodbhava Grants from Banpur* by D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund.
3. *Alagum Inscription of Anantavarman; Regnal Year* 62 by D. C. Sircar, and S. Ratha-Sarma Puri.
4. *Bangaon Plate of Vigrahapala III; Regnal Year* 17 by D. C.Sircar, Ootacamund.

VI. *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*—Journal of the, Vol. X, Parts 1-4, Allahabad.

1. *Date of the Bharata Battle or Mahabharata War-Rejoinder No. II* by Shri P. C. Sengupta.
2. *A Short Note on Harsa* by Shri Deva Raj.

VII. *Indian Archives*, July-December, 1953, Vol. VII, No. 2, New Delhi.

1. *The East India Company's Financial Records* by Holden Furber.

VIII. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, March, 1954, Calcutta.

1. *First Muslim Conquest of Lakhnor* by Ahmad Hasan Dani.
2. *Origin of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah of Delhi* by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.
3. *Rana Udayasimha and the Sur Emperors of Delhi* by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
4. *Early Rulers of Mewar and their Fights with the Arabs* by Prof. M. L. Mathur.

IX. *Indian Review*, Vol. 55, June, 1954, No. 6, Madras.

1. *India's Contact with Greece* by Prof. K. C. Chakravarthi.

X. *Indian Review*, Vol. 55, July 1954, No. 7, Madras.

1. *Origin and Antiquity of Taxila* by Prof. B. L. Ahija.
2. *A Dark Event in Holkar State—1822* by Sardar M. V. Kibe.

XI. *Oriental Institute*—Journal of the, Vol. III, March, 1954, No. 3, Baroda.

1. *Date of Navanitarama's Commentary on the Raghuvamsa* by Prof. P. K. Gode.

XII. *Royal Asiatic Society*—Journal of the Bombay Branch Vol. 28, Part I, 1953.

1. *The Gangas of Skandapura* by Dr. M. Arokiaswami.
2. *The Visnudharmottarapurana: its Dharmasastra contents and their Utilisation in Mediaeval Digests* by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.

XIII. *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1954.

1. *The Original Home of the Dravidians: Their Wanderings in Prehistoric Times, B. C. 4,500 to 1,500* by H. S. David.
2. *The Dravidian Question* by J. T. Cornelius.
3. *Ancient Tamil Kings—Their High Ideals* by A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar.
4. *The Importance of Tamil Epigraphy* by V. I. Subramoniam.

XIV. *University of Ceylon Review*, April 1954, Vol. XII, No. 2, Ceylon.

1. *The Mahabharata: Origin and Growth* by Prof. R. N. Dandekar.

XV. *Venkatesvara Oriental Institute*—Journal of the, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Tirupati.

1. *Shiva-Lingum and Phallus Worship in Indus Valley Civilization* by Arya Ramachandra G. Tiwari.
2. *An account of the Buddhist remains in Andhradesa* by Miss. G. S. Saraswati.
3. *Theory of Government in the Kural* by Sri R. Chandramouliswar.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path,* Bombay.
3. *Asia Major.*
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala,* Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.*
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University,* Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review,* Patna.
15. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review,* Madras.
18. *India Quarterly,* New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
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22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venketeswara Oriental Institute,* Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
31. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
32. *University of Ceylon Review.*

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Adigamān of Tagadūr: His Origin

BY

M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D.,
Lecturer in Indian History and Archaeology
University of Madras

The chieftain of Tagadūr now identified with the modern town of Dharmapuri in the district of Salem in this State of Madras is one of the better known chieftains of the ancient history of South India. A great majority of the poems of Avvai found in the *Puranānūru* collections celebrates one of this family of chieftains—known to Tamil scholars as well as historians as Adigamān Nedumān Āñji.[1] Other Sangam poems like the *Sirupānnāṟṟuppadai* and even the *Agam* do refer to the greatness of the Adigamāns. There need be therefore no doubt as to either the ancient nature or the greatness of this chieftaincy in South India. A well-built tradition has in fact grown round the name of the Adigamāns and mention may be made here of one such traditional story to which Mr. Logan, the author of the Malabar Manual, refers in the second volume of his work. This tradition refers to the ancestors of this chieftain praying to the gods for the production of something sweet to eat and thus getting sugarcane which he first planted in the Kongu region (the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem).[2]

No investigation has so far been made as to the origin of this chieftaincy in South India. From certain references in the poems of the Sangam Age to the Adigamān as "the leader of the Malavar" (Malavar perumagan) an inquiry may be set afoot into the origin and early history of this chieftain.[3] The Malavar would appear to have been a great warrior race which had used for the first time in South India horses in battle. This is an interesting piece of information that may be gleaned from the description of them in the first poem in the *Agam* collection which calls them as "the Malavar with beautiful horses" (*Uruvakuthirai Malavar*). The *Narrinai,* another poem of the same period, relates the Oris of the Kolli hills in the modern district of Salem to the Adigamans and in doing so calls him *"Malavar perumagan mā vil Ōri"*;[4] the use of the bow and arrow by this chieftain is also borne out here.

---

[1] Puram, 91, 99, etc.

[2] Logan; *Malabar Manual*, II, p. 7. The tradition is mentioned in Puram 99 also.

[3] Puram, 88, 90.

These proofs taken from some of the most ancient poems in the Tamil language now generally dated as early as the II century A.D. must convince the historian that the Adigamāns and the Ōris of the Kolli hills undoubtedly belonging to the family of the Malavar are some of the most ancient chieftains who had ever ruled in the South of India. It is curious that the famous poet of the II century, Mamūlānār, from whom we get important gleanings with regard to the Mauryan invasion of the South and the other ancient people known as the Kōśar, who are supposed to have formed the vanguard of the Mauryas in their southern invasion, is also the author who gives us information on the Malavar.[5] Whether the Kōśar had entered the south from the north, where they had known the Mauryas, is a question that has not been answered definitely. But indications are all in that direction. It is wrong to suppose that the north and the south were like water-tight compartments unknown to each other for a long time, especially in view of the Indus valley finds and the evidence they bear on the ancient civilisation of the north and the ever-increasing sources which prove the numerous and continuous migrations from north to south from very early times.[6] The Vēls also known as the Vēlir, who were famous in the South at the very dawn of the Christian era, also belonged to the people who had continually moved down from north to south. The Malavar who must be considered as the ancestors of the Adigamāns of Tagadūr, it would appear, must be classed along with these tribes of people who had thus come from the north into the south, though clear evidences pointing to this conclusion are still wanting.

---

[4] Narrinai, 52

[5] See for example *Agam,* 1, 15.

[6] Arokiaswami; *Early History of the Vellār Basin, Pt. I.*

Be this as it may, the Malavar were among ancient tribes that lived in the South analogous to the pastoral and hunting tribes of India who were by nature good fighters and marksmen, who could ride horses and fight from horse-back. It is to these people we must refer the Adigamāns. In their early history centering round the first centuries of the Christian era we find them closely connected with the Cerās. The Tenimalai inscription of Vidugadalāgiya Perumāl, a VIII century successor of the Adigamān here referred to, mentions one Elini among his ancestors, which has in fact led some scholars to connect the Adigamāns with the Cerās, since Elini is considered to have been of Cerā royal birth. While it is not established that Elini was definitely of Cerā parentage we find the Adigamān chieftains of Tagadūr in constant war with the Cerā kings from Perum Ceral to the Cerā of the Elephant-Look. The later work *Tagadūryatirai* which deals with the Perum Ceral-Adigamān wars tells us that they were caused because whatever extent of territory he was given by the Cerā King, the chieftain was not satisfied. On the other hand, in their later history we find the Adigamāns steadily on the side of the Coḷās, especially during the dark days of Rājādhirājāh II, who had to face the Hoysala onrush under Vishnuvardhanā. During all this period the valiant chieftain of Tagadūr appears as the defender of the Colā frontier in the north as against the great generals of the Hoysala king. Thus one Hoysala inscription has the following passage :

> "When Gangarājāh, the General of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala defeated Adigamān, who was then a Colā Viceroy, he ran across the Cāuvery to Mysore where he created another city Tagadūr now not far from Nanjangudu."[7]

Colā records on the other hand speak of Adigamān fighting some unnamed enemy in North Kalinga where he is said to have cut to pieces the army of the enemy compelling the proud kings who had vowed war on the Colā "to seek refuge in flight."

The truth of the matter appears to be that the Adigamāns like many a chieftain of the early history of South India belonged neither to the royal house of the Cerās nor to that of the Colās but were merely war-like men whom no reigning house could neglect.

---

[7] Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II.

All our historical sources pertaining to this period bring to light numerous categories of such people—the Kongar, the Kōśar, the Karunādar etc.—and the Malavar to which group the Adigamān belonged were one such people.

It would, on the other hand, appear as very plausible that the Malavar are the originators of the Maravar who dominate the district of Ramnād at the present day. They seem to have inherited their war-like qualities from their great ancestors described as unexcelled fighting people of their times. The Śangam poems particularly mention the fights between the Vēlir people and the Malavar and the first song in the *Agam* collections refers to the great fight between the Vēl Āye and the Malavar, in which the former is said to have won a resounding victory over the latter. These two classes of people, the fighters and cultivators, could possibly never agree and that must have led on to many and cruel battles between them and in these the Vēls seem to have generally won.

This must also account for the early rise to power of the former and the later rise of the Malavar. The name of Adigamān is heard of more resonantly and in greater fame in the XI and the XII century when the Vēls gradually settled down to live in a pedestrian way. In this connection it is good also to remember that one of the causes for the decline of the Irukkuvēls at Kodumbālūr in the modern Pudukkottāh region was the rise of the Maravar and the Kaḻḻar allied to them.[8]

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[8] Arokiaswami; *op. cit., Loc. cit.*

The Unsuccessful Expeditions of Rijcklof Van Goens and Adriaan Van Der Meyden to the Malabar Coast (1660-1661)

Mrs. Meilink's narrative, translated from the Dutch original with the kind permission of the author.

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.

Rumours went round in 1659 that Portugal had equipped a strong fleet of as many as eighty ships. With this fleet a new Viceroy would go to India as successor of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira who died in January 1656 and whose place still remained unfilled. The government in India was provisionally carried on by three governors, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, Francisco de Mello de Castro and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho. Of this triad, Homem died on the 25th September 1657. Both the others continued the government till 14th June 1661. In the meanwhile, in 1657, a newly appointed Viceroy died on the way.

The Governor-General and Councillors at Batavia therefore decided to send a blockading fleet once again to Goa. This time also the fleet consisting of 13 ships and manned with more than 1400 persons was placed under the command of Adriaan Roothaes. Pieter de Bitter was appointed Vice-Commander.

Never did larger Dutch forces appear in front of Goa. Specially early on the 26th July 1659, the Dutch Fleet sailed out to prevent the coming of the Portuguese in front of the harbour as in previous years.

As compared with the previous blockade, Roothaes broke up the siege rather early in consequence of which there came in Goa in May a big new galleon, *Nossa Signora de Populi,* that had wintered in Mozambique—a ship specially built for the war that could take in as many as 24 metal pieces and about 250 men and was intended to render service as Admiralship. It brought into

Goa much cash, merchandise and ammunition. Should the expected ships succeed in sailing to the harbour of Goa, then the hostile shipping would amount to 17 warships and form a superior force against Roothaes' fleet. Moreover, the Portuguese had strengthened themselves tremendously in the islets of Salcedo and Bardes to the south and north of Goa against the coming of the Dutch ships. So many men were necessary for this purpose that they could send no reinforcements to other Portuguese forts. Nay, they had even to summon soldiers from Diu and Bassein. With a general pardon to all malefactors, they hoped to reinforce the ranks of their troops.

The High Government built great expectations on this expedition. A splendid farewell dinner was given at Batavia in honour of its departure. At this dinner the imprisoned Portuguese Commanders who were to return to Goa with this fleet also sat. Roothaes was commanded to keep his ships, as far as possible, together. Further, it was hoped that Wingurla whence the fleet was provided with provisions would not fall into the hands of the Portuguese. The latter had sent an embassy to the Court of Bijapur with a considerable present of 100,000 pagodas. They requested the monarch to refuse to the Dutch permission to stay in his land and to renew the old treaties of friendship. They even offered, in addition to the present, an annual contribution of 10,000 pagodas. But the prince gave them only good words and large promises. He rather let the knife cut from both sides by remaining good friends with both rivals, the Dutch and the Portuguese. The interests of his subjects moreover advocated patronage to the Dutch who brought prosperity into the lands under Wingurla. Through them trade and business flourished. The fairly widespread private navigation was protected by the Dutch against the Malabar pirates. The king himself declared to the Dutch that piracy would magnify the unrest in his kingdom caused by the activities of the rebel Sivāji. The sympathies of the Bijapur palace and of the Adil Shah in particular were very much against the Portuguese. Also the Dutch found with them a better reception. Presents could only improve this disposition. So the Dutch decided that a moderate present of 4000 guilders would be sufficient. They did not feel entirely at ease in their settlement at Wingurla. And against the chance of this being lost, they must try to occupy another harbour to the north of it, not to the south so that there, with a sally of the enemy from Goa, a ship proceeding to the south of Wingurla might no more reach the blockading fleet.

Not the capture of the fortresses on the Malabar Coast were the commission and aim of Roothaes' fleet; that aim in fact was the security of Ceylon and of the Company's navigation along the Indian Coast. If the whole forces of the fleet were not necessary in front of Goa, then they were, with the returning ships, to appear before Cannanore so that they might make an impression by this show. And perhaps they could venture an attempt at the reconquest of Quilon. But a special order was not given to the Governor-General and Council to do this. It went not a little to the heart of the directors of the United East India Company that from the costly blockade—the blockade of the year 1658-59 had alone cost 29,961 guilders in expenses of occupation without taking into account the cost of the equipment of the fleet and the wages of the men and sailors—the English rivals also profited in some measure as the Portuguese were, by this, prevented from putting the Indian produces on the European market. The blockade meant a heavy charge on the yearly balance and caused many doubts to arise in the minds both of the Lords Seventeen and the Governor-General whether the results would in the long run justify such heavy expenses.

As the Portuguese ships coming from Portugal must first sail to Chaul and Bombay for observing how matters stood in front of Goa, Roothaes divided his fleet. Roothaes himself went with his six ships to those places for cruising against the expected reinforcements. The rest of the squadron appeared in front of Goa under the command of Pieter de Bitter. This Pieter de Bitter who, being incorporated in the squadron of De Ruyter, made a noise for himself in the world in the naval combat of Terheide, took part in the siege and capture of Colombo as flag captain of Gerard Hulft. After the surrender of the city, he was sent to Batavia to acquaint the High Government, of the conquest and of Hulft being killed in battle. In 1656 and 1657 he took part in the blockade in front of Goa under Commandeur Roothaes. During the expeditions of Van Goens for the conquest of the Portuguese fortresses on the coasts of India and Ceylon, the command of the ship *Salamander* was entrusted to De Bitter. Held up by bad weather conditions, he came too late to be able to offer help in the capture of Mannar. He indeed took part in the capture of Jaffnapatam and here obtained the approbation of Van Goens who no further took into account his irregularities perpetrated in the seizure of a Portuguese prize. On the 17th July, 1659, De Bitter was appointed Vice-Commander of the fleet of Van Roothaes and was permitted to carry the flag in front of the top foremast.

Rumours spread by the English mentioned the coming of a Portuguese fleet of about 29 ships with which English and French vessels would also be found. If these rumours contained truth, the Dutch blockading fleet would run into great danger especially as they did not remain together. Van Goens made himself seriously uneasy about the coming of such a large squadron of which the Portuguese boasted. This brought him a reproof from his superiors who put to him the question whether in his long career he was not accustomed to the practices of the Portuguese who always knew to support their affairs with lies and to keep their subjects in expectation of some large reinforcement from Europe.

Van Goens sent two yachts and some smaller ships with one hundred soldiers for reinforcing Roothaes' fleet. But all fear appeared ungrounded. Van Goens could write to the Lords Seventeen "The mountains have brought forth a mouse." Only a patache or carravel (small and fast sailing ship for catching herring) went to Bassein as the fleet of Roothaes could see. The ship brought the news that the situation in Portugal brought about by the war with Spain did not permit the sending of the promised reinforcement this year also. The Portuguese Indian Government had to rest contented with the assurance that in the following year help could positively be expected or that otherwise peace with the Dutch would probably be concluded. Concerning the last eventuality, the Governors at Goa hoped that surely with the conclusion of peace Ceylon would be restored to the Portuguese. This was certainly a vain hope because of the breathless state in which the Portuguese kingdom found itself, a condition which made impossible the extreme exertion of strength necessary to take the island before the conclusion of the peace treaty.

For the Company which had incurred such heavy expenses for the blockade, the arrival of this one small Portuguese ship was a disappointment. There could properly be performed nothing of importance that would in some degree make good the expenses. As no more reinforcements from Portugal were to be expected, Roothaes came away from Chaul and Bombay and sailed to Goa while three ships were to remain cruising there till the 26th October. But nothing of importance happened in front of Goa. Some small ships which wanted to go inside were made prizes and some others chased on the shore. The Portuguese shore batteries forced the Dutch to remain eventually on the sea. In consequence of this, Roothaes could not obstruct the numerous small ships that at night privately went into and out of the harbour as owing to the prevailing winds going into the harbour was more difficult than getting out of the same. The naval force which the blockading fleet in Goa faced consisted of 9 galleons, mostly large ships, and about 40 frigates. But the Portuguese failed to make these ships the means of sailing quickly and being ready for battle. How confused the conditions in the city appeared was clear to the Dutch from the news brought by their spies. Fierce quarrels raged between the Portuguese fidalgos or nobles who did not refrain from fighting out their quarrels with arms during the time of the Church service without the guilty being punished by the Government. In connection with the succession to the deceased Archbishop of Goa the clergy were no less at variance with each other. The insecurity on the street was so great that people did not venture to go out without armed escort. The police had not the courage to interfere. Even the worst ring-leaders remained moving about unpunished. Great dearth prevailed in the city and, as the salaries remained unpaid to the soldiers, there remained nothing else for them than robbery, murder or desertion.

Of the nine ships there were three which were no longer able to sail and one was wholly broken up. These ships were kept intact only for the purpose of preserving their prestige against the natives. The Indian residents on the Coast who had suffered heavy loss owing to the continual occupation of their harbours and who complained to the Portuguese Government had to be fed with the hope that a large Portuguese fleet which was expected would re-establish Portuguese influence. Otherwise the fear was indeed very great that the natives would choose the side of the Dutch.

Of an encounter with the Dutch enemy, there was no talk so that no reputation could be enjoyed by the Portuguese among the native nations. On the command of Van Goens, Roothaes sent two yachts and a captured frigate in January to Cannanore for cruising in front of that harbour when it appeared that the enemy had nothing more in mind. Meanwhile Van Goens had arrived in front of Cochin. Roothaes sent there his Vice-Commander De Bitter with his yacht *Tholen* manned with 157 men. On a further request of Van Goens who expected that Roothaes, after the departure of the Company's ships from Taiwan, would come with some yachts to help, it was decided that a second yacht which had 200 men on board should further be despatched to Cochin for assistance.

But, further, before this yacht was on the way, news reached Roothaes that, without accomplishing his object, Van Goens had to break up from Cochin. As Roothaes' presence in front of Goa was no longer required, he sailed to Batavia on the 8th April. For complete security 5 yachts under De Bitter remained behind in front of the bar. These were to continue the blockade as long as possible.

Pieter de Bitter, during the absence of Roothaes in front of Goa, got into a serious conflict with the English. On the 20th September, he seized an English trading ship, the *Constantinople Merchant*, which wished to sail to the harbour of Goa. When the cargo was searched, the ship was found to have in it guns and ammunition. According to the English, its destination was their settlement at Surat, while it was clear that it had just come out of that place and had already been in front of Goa, but had not dared to touch at that place owing to bad weather. This was not, however, the first occasion on which the English provided the Portuguese with war material. The goods which were not considered as contraband were allowed to be brought in the sloops to the shore. The Dutch took 59 metal pieces, 3 mortars and 1974 grenades in custody. Opposition does not really appear to have been offered from the English side. Only an elaborate written protest was delivered and this De Bitter did not immediately answer because of his ignorance of the English language.

By his actions, De Bitter had strictly conformed to his instructions and had done nothing but his duty. Although the High Government had commanded a gentler action against the English so that an open conflict with them might be avoided, they had indeed positively ordered the seizure of contraband i.e. war material for the hostile harbours. The Dutch were within their rights in this matter as, during the negotiations in Europe, it had been settled that contraband of war might be seized if an attempt were risked to bring the same to a blockaded harbour. The President and Council at Surat, however, complained bitterly over the outrage and pressed that satisfaction be asked from the Republic. Against the protest of the English, De Bitter defended himself at length. Of the influence on his career of this affair nothing is known.

The Company's interests on the Malabar Coast had suffered not a little through the events in the spring of 1659. Even the oldest commercial lodge of the United East India Company on the Malabar Coast, Kayamkulam, was in danger of being abolished. After the major portion of the merchandise and moneys was transported into the ship, there remained behind only an assistant and two subordinates to guard the lodge and collect the outstanding debts. It was again Van Serooskercken who was to negotiate afresh connections with the Malabar princes, in particular with the Zamorin, and buy as much pepper as he could secure. The Zamorin was in full war against the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin and laid siege to Cranganore. The diplomatic meddlings of Van Serooskercken with the Zamorin and other Malabar princes found little favour in the eyes of Van Goens who attached no belief to Van Serooskercken's communications of the winter, among other things that the Zamorin was only waiting for Dutch help to attack the city of Cochin itself. Van Goens had objections against giving cannon and soldiers on loan to the Zamorin. Little could he rely on those unreliable people. They were then rather to continue the negotiations through all compliments and friendliness and practise the utmost caution. Although they gave the Zamorin no material help, encouragement to maintain the fight against the Portuguese was greatly desired. The obloquy of Quilon had to be obliterated as quickly as possible. The war of the Portuguese with the most powerful Malabar prince was only too convenient for the Dutch.

The ruler of Ceylon, Raja Singa, was keeping quiet after his predatory expeditions in the lowlands around Colombo and Negombo. This added to the helpless situation of the Portuguese in Goa and made Van Goens and his Council to hazard an expedition for the capture of Quilon with the ships and soldiers present in

Ceylon as far as they could be spared without danger. Perhaps they could unite with the blockading fleet so that the latter might not remain wholly without work and the heavy expenses of the same could in some degree be made up for. If the Lords Seventeen but decided to send more soldiers and ships to India, then Van Goens supposed there was even their capture of Goa in prospect. After executing the business on the Malabar Coast, Van Goens hoped to direct his forces against Raja Singa for depriving him of his seaports and destroying the saltpans in the island that were still in the possession of the king.

After the departure of the Dutch from Quilon, the Portuguese under Ignatio Sermento snatched the interior of the town. The Portuguese wished to complete the fortifications which the Dutch were beginning to level. This was forbidden by the Signatty who eventually gave consent to the construction of the defensive work on the sea-coast against the Dutch. Because of these measures of the Portuguese, a reconquest by surprise attack according to the plan of Van der Meyden was not at all to be thought of. When captured, the place would require a garrison of at least four or five hundred men to protect it against the attacks of the Portuguese as well as against the Nairs. It was not easy to convince the thrifty government of the United East India Company that a military occupation was absolutely necessary. Van Goens threatened them with the English peril. With justice the High Government mentioned against this that besides Quilon yet enough other places remained on the Malabar Coast where the English could settle down without the Company being able to hinder that. Only as the first link in a chain of further conquests had the capture of Quilon any meaning.

The naval force with which Van Goens departed from Negombo on the 29th January 1660 consisted of the ships *Achilles, Muyden* and some small yachts and shallops. On these ships there were about 600 men, all drafted from the garrisons in Ceylon. On the Indian Coast this fleet was to join the yachts *Hogeland, Schelvis, Geldria* and *Mandarsha* and the ship *Hector* which had all previously been sent partly from Colombo to the Indian Coast and had been occupied there for some months in carrying imports from and exports to the Malabar harbours and partly summoned from the fleet in front of Goa.

When the Dutch came to the Coast, it appeared to them that the Portuguese were here very much on their guard and had a much larger force than the Dutch had originally thought. Not only the bay near Quilon which was held by Van der Meyden as such a good landing place but the whole town had been brought by them into a defensible state. In Cochin the Portuguese had built a new defence work on the sea coast. The town was, according to Van Goen's information, occupied by not less than 800 soldiers, 1500 to 1600 white citizens and besides a very large number of Topasses. As Cochin covered a very large surface, a siege with a much larger number of soldiers than sailors would be necessary. At the taking of the city, Van Goens feared there would be considerable plundering which certainly would not make the Indians favourably disposed to the Company. But the fight against the Nairs also required a large number of soldiers because of the great fierceness which the Nairs up to that day put forth in the attack.

All places which were suitable for a landing, the Portuguese had provided with fortifications (paggers). Unthought of difficulties presented themselves as, even if they succeeded to capture Quilon, Palliport (a fortress situated on the northernmost extremity of the island of Bypeen near Cranganore) and Cranganore itself, the available military forces would not be sufficient to besiege, take and occupy Cochin also. Owing to the very strong situation of the town, Van Goens foresaw a long siege which would induce him to remain in front of Cochin during the whole monsoon while co-operation with the blockading fleet could scarcely take place after the passing from Taiwan (Formosa) on the way to Persia and Surat of the ships that would otherwise chance to be attacked with their rich cargo from Goa.

While the Raja of Cranganore remained a vassal of the Zamorin, the Portuguese had the fort of Cranganore in possession. The Zamorin understood that he could not attack Cochin with success so long as the rallying lines with that state were threatened by the strong fortress of Cranganore. This fortress formed a protection for Cochin and already for a long time the Zamorin had vainly tried to capture that fort. Palliport or Pallipuram was of much less importance, but its possession would stand in good stead for the Company as it lay close to the sea on a prominent sharp corner of the island of Bypeen through which they could control the river of Cranganore and put Cochin in a tight place.

Van Goens dared not weaken Ceylon further. He was very much disappointed over the attitude of the Malabar princes. As well disposed to the Company stood among others the Zamorin, Tekkenkur, Vadakkumkur and Cranganore; on the side of the Portuguese were Cochin, Travancore, Cannanore, Purakkad, and, since the events of the spring of 1659 in Quilon, also the Signatty.

After the fleet appeared in front of Cochin, Van Goens sailed in secret with the leading members of his Council to Cranganore to see how far he could count on the support of the Malabari princelings. Two of those Malabar kings appeared before Van Goens on board, but it appeared that their promises were very small. As Van Goens pithily expressed it, they tried with our arms to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Their aim was to play off the Dutch and the Portuguese against each other without the Dutch obtaining any of their promises.

While Van Goens with his fleet lay in front of Cochin, he was implicated in a succession war for the Cochin throne. In the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese under Albuquerque had meddled in the succession to the Cochin throne. They had driven out an old branch of the dynasty because of the fact that the claimant of this branch belonged to the adherents of the Zamorin. A collateral line of the dynasty was set up by them. This branch died out in 1646. Members of the old expelled branch as also a collateral line which claimed the succession were adopted as heirs. Immediately, a family feud broke loose between the two branches. With the help of the Portuguese the members of the old branch were driven out and five princes from Tanur who from of old were already friends of the Portuguese obtained the right of succession.

The expelled princes of the old branch invoked the help of the Zamorin who immediately chose his side. Through the intervention of the Zamorin, the chiefs of the land were divided into two parties, namely those who supported the Tanur princes and the adherents of the expelled princes. Besides the support of the Zamorin, the expelled princes obtained mostly the support of Aditya Varman, Raja of Vadakkumkur or Beckenkoer and of the Raja of Idappalli. The newly adopted ones found support with the Rajas of Porca (Purakkad) and Valluvanad. The principal persons in the conflict were naturally the Zamorin on behalf of the older branch and the Portuguese for the younger. The Nair Chief, of Paliyam (Paliyatteer), the most powerful nobleman in Cochin and hereditary first minister of the state, secretly favoured the cause of the expelled princes.

The claimant to the Cochin throne who stayed in exile at Vadakkumkur, Veera Kerala Varma, the Mootatavazhi in Dutch sources, sought contact with Van Goens. He visited the Admiral in his fleet and agreed to all that the Dutch desired from him. He even offered to leave his brother in Van Goens' hands as hostage. The invitation of the Cochin claimant furnished the Dutch a suitable opportunity to intervene for their own advantage in the internal affairs of Malabar. This was only a first connection. Speedily, in proportion to the extent to which the Dutch tried to establish their influence on the Coast, the relations between the Dutch and Veera Kerala Varma became closer and more circumscribed. But at the outset the effort to come to an agreement with the Zamorin appeared least possible. It became obvious that on him whom the Dutch had so fervently invoked and so much trusted very little reliance could be placed. With him the Dutch had the same experience as once with Raja Singa. But the deeply rooted distrust of the Indian princes against the European intruders was not devoid of foundation.

When Van Goens desired to land on the Zamorin's territory so that with good preparation and in good order he might attack the enemy, this was not permitted to him and he merely promised to give some support as soon as the Dutch would have taken Palliport. The greatest difficulty was not the taking of Quilon, Palliport and Cranganore, but the occupation of those places with men. Quilon would require 500 men and Palliport and Cranganore at least 600. Only the fleet in front of Goa could deliver such a number, but by this means the blockade would lose its effect. If, after a capture they did not occupy the place, then the way was shown to the enemy how he could properly fortify in the coming season. Van Goens felt heavily the responsibility specially for the valuable island of Ceylon which was in some degree put to the hazard by him for the benefit of this expedition. Without proper commission from his masters and with his hands bound by the demands for economy made by the Lords Seventeen and the High Government of which the first College judged every military occupation of the Malabar Coast superfluous, Van Goens with the concurrence of the entire Council decided to give up a landing and merely blockade the different Portuguese forts till the beginning of the rainy season at the end of April. On the 23rd April Van Goens departed from the Coast with the largest portion of his military forces. A landing would probably have had to be paid for dearly by the Dutch. The Governor-General and Council also realised this and completely approved Van Goens' decision. Yet they would naturally rather have seen that the expensive expedition had further performed something of importance towards the destruction of the Portuguese. It was however better that the undertaking was suspended than it took a dangerous turn. Therefore Van Goens trusted that the High Government would be in a position in September to equip a new and proper force. If only he obtained enough ships (two or three alone would be quite sufficient), he trusted that within a fortnight he could bring the whole of the Malabar Coast under the dominion of the Company so that subsequently the joint fleet might assault Goa. And if the subsequent expedition did not come off so luckily, they were at least to try to capture Cranganore so as to cause contentment to the Zamorin to whom that town was to be delivered. Still more radical would it be to destroy the town entirely. Afterwards Palliport could be occupied with the help of the Malabar Chiefs and Quilon would also speedily follow suit. Cruising vessels must further bring to reason the rest of the Coast. Van der Meyden did not attach so much importance to Cannanore in particular. If the enemy was but once driven out and the fort demolished, this port could remain a free trading place. The Company could not now accomplish all things at once. To the possession of Cochin Van Goens attached the greatest importance. He hoped that, to attack this place effectively, at least 600 or 700 soldiers would be sent to him. Van Goens wished to have Amboynese soldiers present in Ceylon rather than add a portion of the military forces expected from Batavia. If Cochin was once captured and in the hands of the United East India Company, then the other places would speedily follow. For the Lords Seventeen Cochin owed its chief importance to the fact that it formed a defence for Ceylon. Of the profits which that place would yield, they had no great expectations. With justice Van Goens thereupon showed to his superiors that the possession of Cochin would make the Company the master of the pepper and the cinnamon trade. Besides, the possession of Cochin would benefit not a little the shipbuilding of the Company as in the neighbourhood of the town timber could be obtained very abundantly and the river of Cochin was particularly suitable for the repair of yachts and ships. And what advantages would not the Ceylonese burgers whose prosperity and development the United East India Company laid to their heart derive? According to information which Van Goens furnished, the income which would come to the Dutch after the capture of Cochin would certainly extend to the cost of a garrison of 250 or 300 men, especially if they reduced the fortification works of that far-extending town.

An eventual peace with Portugal would be an ugly step cancelling all these plans but in any case this would not hinder a capture of Quilon. Here the Company had to deal not with the Portuguese but with the Indian princess Signatti, who by special treaty had left the town to the Dutch. Through treachery the Dutch were compelled to evacuate the town, but without losing any of their rights thereon. The possession of Quilon was of very great importance for the security of the island of Ceylon and the domination of the bay of Madura. Unconquerable, the town could, through its naturally favourable situation, be fortified. According to what Van Goens was supposed to know, the Signatti was again somewhat more inclined to the Dutch although they still followed a wait and see policy and wished to avoid enmity with the Portuguese. According to the junior Merchant De Haze who stayed at Kayamkulam for the pepper trade, the inhabitants of Quilon even wished to make a proposal to the Dutch to drive the Portuguese out of their town—a piece of intelligence which was received by Van Goens with the necessary reservation. More obvious was it that they sought postponement to see whether the Portuguese still obtained help from Europe. Only when no Portuguese squadron appeared, would they choose the side of the Company.

In order to cause a better hearing with the High Government, Van Goens wanted to carry on deliberations personally with the Government at Batavia and hoped then to obtain their gratitude for all the troubles experienced during his voyage. His Commission had not been easy and he had remarked that whosoever wished to perform so burdensome a commission must necessarily make many enemies who would not like the porridge and others who according to their judgment would consider it too much buttered so that the Directors would also remain subject to every one's judgment and nevertheless remain bound to an oath from which they should not have the power in any way to swerve.

Though the Zamorin had also very much disappointed the Dutch in their expectations, he was so greatly indispensable to them that they could not neglect his friendship. In order to be able to take action against Cochin in the ensuing season with some chance of success, the Company wanted to assure themselves beforehand of a safe landing place. Perhaps the Zamorin would provide this to them. To achieve this and to cultivate the Zamorin's friendship, the merchant Godske was deputed to the court of this prince. On this Isbrand Godske Van Goens built great expectations notwithstanding his not entirely stainless official past. Godske was to honour with presents the Zamorin and other Malabar princes who were well disposed to the Company in order that their enmity against the Portuguese might be strengthened. He was to give them the hope that in the forthcoming season the Dutch would resume their enterprise with double force. But he had himself to take care to make the princes fulfil certain promises. Only in very vague terms was support to be promised to them. When they came to a contract with these princes, it was really proper that the following requirements should be fulfilled: namely that the town Cochin with the lands belonging to it came wholly under the Company in the same way as they stood now under the Portuguese; the Dutch should decide whether they should or should not occupy Aykotta and Palliport; nobody other than the United East India Company should be allowed to carry away pepper; no Romish priests should be allowed any longer to stay in the land; they must divide the artillery at Cranganore and demolish the fort; this latter step must be taken by the subjects of the Zamorin; finally, to the Dutch must remain the freedom to demolish Cochin or to preserve its fort alone. It would be very beneficial for the United East India Company if Godske obtained from the Zamorin consent to the Dutch throwing up opposite Palliport a fortification of cocoanut trees so that in future they might possess a safe landing place and (a matter which the Zamorin was naturally not told) to be secured against the possible treachery of the native Malabar side. The Zamorin assented to this proposal and made his men available for building such a fortification under the directions of the Company's servants. Eight to ten Dutchmen should stay in the fortification during the rainy season under the protection of the Zamorin. This fortification was situated in a hamlet named *Aykotta* situated opposite Palliport and close to the sea-coast. Good drinking water was present in the surroundings. The Dutchmen hoped that the settlement could develop into a trading place whither the pepper from the neighbourhood as also from Cochin could be carried. The possession of Palliport was naturally to be preferred to that of Aykotta especially if it once came to a sudden peace with Portugal, but circumstances had once prevented Van Goens from attacking and taking that fortress.

It was indeed a double game that the Zamorin played with the Dutch. Towards the Portuguese he feigned a complete ignorance. The Zamorin's unreliableness appeared only all too clearly from the letters intercepted by them. In these very letters the Dutch could read about a brilliant victory the Portuguese had obtained over them after their landing near Aykotta. The Portuguese attributed to themselves still further victories which produced such an impression on the Zamorin that he had an interview with Ignatio Sermento, Captain of Cochin, and made all possible anti-Dutch promises to him. But meanwhile he also continued his negotiations with the Dutch. In the Dutch sources we shall vainly seek for these Portuguese victories. Probably, as these letters wherein those heroic deeds were narrated fell into his hands, the Dutch Resident at Wingurla rightly took this for the usual Portuguese flaunting and roguery.

To be continued.

Cultural Life as Described in the Buddhist Jātakas

BY

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The *Jātaka* is the tenth book of the *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka.* It contains the birth stories of the Buddha in previous existences when he was a *Bodhisatta* (one who is destined to attain *Bodhi* or enlightenment, i.e., to become the Buddha). Each story opens with a preface which describes the circumstances in the life of the Buddha, which led him to tell the birth-story and thus reveal some events in the long series of his previous births as a *Bodhisatta.*

The *Jātakas* as a vast store of the Buddhist narrative poems with a preponderately moralising tendency, developed from the popular ballads that needed prose narrations to clear up their connections. The *Sudhābhojanajātaka* may be considered as a striking example of a small drama, and the *Vessantarajātaka* as a Buddhist counterpart of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The *Jātakas* as prose narratives with the verses included in them are unparalleled in the folk-literature of the world in respect of their humour, wit, information, human interest and scope (Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism,* p. 273).

The *Jātaka* was composed in the Northern India in the so-called *Madhyadeśa* (middle country) (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p. 172). Some of the stories are found also in the *Pañcatantra, Kathāsaritsāgara, Mahāvastu,* etc. Some have parallels in the Hindu epics as well as in the *Purāṇas* and the Jain texts. All these stories have various purposes to serve. It is most likely that the Buddha Gotama himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. The Buddhist monks and preachers also did so.

The *Jātakas* are very important for the history of Buddhism, as they give us an insight into popular Buddhism. The whole system of the *Jātakas* is based on the most popular dogma of *karma* and the ethical ideal of the religion is not the *Arhat* who has attained to *Nirvāṇa* but the *Bodhisatta* who in all his former existences showed one or more of the great virtues by which he prepared himself to become the future Buddha. The *Jātakas* preserve an invaluable record of the history of Indian literature. They throw a flood of light on the social, economical, political, cultural and religious life of the people in ancient India. The state of civilisation described in them is no doubt very ancient in many respects. The *Jātakas* are full of materials of various kinds, which greatly help us in reconstructing our ancient history, but due care should be taken in accepting them with caution.[1]

Some women of the Buddhist period were not behind their male brothers in education. Buddhist literature contains references to many educated women. The verses in the *Therīgāthā* are attributed to some saintly sisters. The religious harangue of Sukkā[2] and the philosophical discussions of Khemā[3] and Dhammadinnā[4] may be cited as instances of attainments of Indian women. Many dancing women were employed to keep Prince Gotama in hilarity. They were skilful in dancing and singing and were as lovely as *deva* maidens. Clad in beautiful array and ranging themselves in order these dancing women played upon their musical instruments, danced, and sang delightfully (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-stories*, p. 171). The dancing girls were accomplished in dancing and singing (*naccagītavāditakusalā-Jat.*, II, 328; V. 249). There were 16,000 dancing girls engaged by the King (*Jāt.* I, 437). Bodhisatta born in a musician's family mastered all the branches of music and he became the chief of the musicians in ancient India (*Jāt.* II, 248). A musical competition was held between two master musicians (*Jāt.* II, 253-4). The word *nāṭakāni* occurs in *Jātaka*, V. 282. It means dancers, actors or players (cf. *Jāt.* I, 206; *ibid.*, V. 373; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, III, 88; IV, 59, 130). A dancing girl (*nāṭakitthī*) is mentioned in the *Jātaka* (V. 249). The word *Gandhabba* is used in the *Jātaka* (II, 248) in the sense of music. Among the musical instruments mention is made of *turiya*,[5] *vīṇā*,[6] and *veṇu*.[7] *Turiya* means musical instruments in general. It is said to be of five kinds (*pañcaṅgikaṃ-turiyaṃ*): *atata, vitata, atata-vitata, ghana* and *susira*.[8] *Atata*—the drums covered with leather on one side; *Vitata*—the drums covered with leather on both sides; *atata-vitata*—the drums completely covered with leather; *ghana*—instruments played by striking such as cymbals, bells, tambourines; *susira*—wind instruments (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 51). *Vīṇā* means lute, mandoline.

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[1] Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I, pp. 267 ff
[2] *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 57-61
[3] *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 126 ff; *Aṅguttara*, I, 25.
[4] *Ibid.*, 15; *Aṅguttara*, I. 25.

The early Buddhist texts shed sufficient light on the development of the *Gandhabbaveda* (science of music and the science of eugenics and erotics). The science of music was concerned with the four main subjects: dancing (*nacca*), singing (*gīta*), playing on instruments (*vādita*) and dramatic performances (*visūkadassanā*). Regarding *vādita* or instrumental music we are supplied with a classified list of musical instruments, which is more or less the same as that given in *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. With dancing, singing and instrumental music was associated ballad recitation (*Dīgha*, I, p. 6). The sublimation of the art of dancing and singing was attempted by some sects of ascetics and recluses, namely, the *Ājīvikas*, whose canon included two treatises one on songs (*Gītamārga*) and the other on dances (*Nṛtyamārga*) (Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 261-262).

The hereditary craftsmen or those who followed professional callings, such as, those of architects, carpenters, smiths, masons, jewellers, potters, fishermen, etc., organised themselves into various guilds, agreeing to be governed by their own laws and customs. Those who followed a common profession were led by a gregarious instinct to settle down or live in one and the same locality. Thus came into existence villages of carpenters, smiths, potters and the like. The social process was further complicated by the general tendency to segregate one class of workers from another within the same profession.

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[5] *Jāt.* V. 506 (gāthā); III. p. 40; VI. 289.
[6] *Jāt.* II. 225.
[7] *Jāt.* IV. 284.
[8] *Vimāṇavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 37; *P.T.S. Dictionary*, p. 139.

There was a land pilot (*thalaniyyāmaka*) who used to guide the course of a caravan (*Jāt.* I, p. 107). It is interesting to note that the ship had an accommodation for 700 caravans with their beasts (*Jātaka* No. 539). One thousand families of carpenters were accommodated in a large ship built by them (*Jātaka* No. 466). The water-pilot (*jalaniyyāmaka*) used to steer the course of the ship (*Jāt.* IV, p. 138); the direction of land being sometimes ascertained by flight of crows (*disākākā—Jātaka*, III, p. 267).

In ancient civilised countries the powerful influence of religion on life was exercised through education and learning. It was by the efforts of the religious teachers of various schools of thought that the educational institutions were founded and maintained, and it was under their fostering care that the cause of education and learning prospered. The essence of education is training, physical, mental, and moral. As training education is fundamentally an art the practice of this art requires some definite methods and principles, both of which make up a science. The main object of education is the acquisition of knowledge, either for the realisation of an ideal or for acquiring fitness for work or for both. *Vijjaṭṭhānas* mentioned in some of the *Jātakas* as numbering 18 were the subjects of study apart from the first three *vedas* (*Jāt.* I, 356, 463; II, 243). The enumeration of the 18 *sippas* as *vijjaṭṭhānas* or subjects of study is not to be found in the *Jātakas*. It is not explained why the first three *vedas* were excluded from the list. But there is every reason to believe that 18 was the number fixed for the *sippas*, as also for the alphabets and the dialects other than the Indo-Aryan (*desibhāsā*, *milakkabhāsā*). The enumeration, however, differed (Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time*, p. 202, n.I). In the *Milindapañha*, (3 ff) the subjects of study[9] are 19 (*ekūnavīsati*) in number; they are called satthas (*śāstras*) including the 4 *vedas*.

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[9] ...*bahuni c' assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathīdam: suti sammuti (smṛti) saṅkhyā yogā nīti (nyāya) visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikichā catubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotisā māyā (magic) hetu (casuistry) mantanā (polity) yuddhā (military science) chandasā or prosody and muddā or conveyancing. Cf.* E. J. *Thomas on Buddhist education in Pali and Sanskrit schools,* published in *Buddhistic Studies,* Ed. B. C. Law, p. 225.

The hermitage of Sarabhaṅga mentioned in the *Jātaka* (V. 132 ff) was a great centre of the Yoga practice. The early Buddhist texts give us a good deal of information about the development of the science of architecture (*Vāstuvidyā*, Pali *Vatthuvijjā*). On the art side it was known as the *Vaḍḍhakisippa*. The *Vatthuvijjā* and *Vaḍḍhakisippa* understood in a comprehensive sense, included as subjects of study the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, council-halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soil, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out parks, gardens and the rest. The architects were known as *Sthapatis* (Pali *Thapatis*) or *Vaḍḍhakis*. Carpentry, woodcarving, stone-masonry, etc. were all connected with the art of building (*Jāt.* I, 32, 201, 247; II, 170; VI, 332, 432; cf. *Dīgha*, I, 9; *Milinda*, 331; *Majjhima*, I, 396; III, 144; *Apadāna*, 51).

The *Vatthuvijjācariyas* were those who knew to test the sites for house-building (*Jāt.*, I, 297; IV, 323). Wood was first used and then stone and metal (*Jāt.*, I, 287). *Kuṭāgāras* were the pinnacled houses mentioned in *Jāt.*, (V, 225-26). *Silatthambha* or stone pillar, *thūpa* or dagoba, *cetiya* or shrine, *vedikā* or platform, *toraṇa* or portal and *dvāra* or door are also mentioned in the *Jātaka* (III, 434; II, 256; V, 511; VI, 215). The *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (VI, 428-36., 459-60) contains an account of an underground construction. Two tunnels were built, the lesser and the greater. The greater tunnel was provided with a door, 18 hands high, fitted with machinery, so that one peg being pressed all were closed. On either side the tunnel was built up with bricks and worked with *stucco*; it was roofed over with planks and smeared with cement and whitened. In all there were 80 great doors and 64 small doors, which all by the pressure of one peg, closed and by the pressure of one peg, opened. On either side there were many lamp-cells also fitted with machinery so that when one was opened, all opened, and one was shut, all were shut. On either side there were 101 chambers for 101 warriors; in each one was laid a bed of various colours, in each there was a great couch shaded by a white sunshade, each had a throne near the great couch and each had a statue of a woman, very beautiful (*Jāt.* VI, p. 432). A hall for the play of the boys was built. One thousand boys contributed money towards its construction. A master-mariner was entrusted with the task of building this hall. He levelled the ground, cut posts and spread out the measuring line. A hall for religious assemblies and a court of justice were also built (*Jāt.* VI, 332-333). The painter painted beautiful picture (*ramaṇīyam cittakammaṃ kāresi—Jāt.* VI, 333). Clever painters made all manner of paintings in the tunnel on either side; the splendour of sakka, the zones of the Mt. Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, the Himalaya, lake Anotatta, vermilion mountain, the sun and the moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were to be seen in the tunnel (*Jāt.* VI, p. 432).[10] Paintings were drawn on the walls and on the planks (*Jāt.* I, 304).

It is stated in the *Kaṭāhaka-Jātaka* (*Jāt.* I, 451) that the son of a rich banker of Benares used to go to learn the alphabet (*lekhaṃ*) and the son of a female slave (*dāsī*) born in the house accompanied him, carrying wooden board, meant apparently for the practice of writing. It seems that the boy used to attend some sort of a primary school. But the fact is that he learnt also other arts, even the slave-boy learnt them as a result of accompanying him. The Jātakas suggest the 16th year as the normal age of the Brahmin and Kṣatriya youths for study (*Jāt.* II, 277; V, 127). At the age of 16 a prince of Benares completed his education. (*Jāt.* I, 262). The same age is suggested also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. According to the law books the completion of the 16th year was the time for ceremonial introduction of a Brahmin youth into the caste through the utterance of the *Sāvitrī* (*Manu,* II, 36ff). The *Jātakas* must be taken to have mentioned the 16th year as the normal age of a boy for sending him to Taxila for his education. As a rule the time for the beginning of studies is given when the students come of age—*Vayappatto* (Law, *Buddhistic Studies,* 236 ff). In some of the *Jātakas* the parents are said to have given their sons the option of either worshipping the fire in the wood (*jātaggi*) or studying. The option given was between going to a hermitage of a sage for religious training and going to Taxila or some other seat of learning for vocational education. This option is clearly implied in the discussion of the parents of Upāli. Several *Jātakas* refer to Taxila in the kingdom of Gandhāra as an ancient seat of Brahmanical learning. The Brahmin youths, Kṣatriya princes and sons of bankers from Benares, Rājagriha, Kośala and other places were either sent or went themselves for learning the first three *vedas* and 18 sciences and arts. The science of medicine was taught at Taxila by a far-famed teacher of the subject. Jīvaka learnt the science and surgery here (*Vinaya-Mahāvagga,* VIII, 1.3.6; VIII, 3).

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[10] *Sakkavilāsasineruparibhaṇḍasāgaramahāsāgara - catumahādīpahimavanta anotattamanosilātala - candasuriya cātummahārājikādichakāmasaggādi vibhattiyo sabbā ummagge dassayiṃsu.*

The Jātakas mention various kinds of diseases: jaundice (*paṇḍuroga—Jāt.* I, 431); dysentery (*lohitapokkhandika—Jāt.* II, 213); indigestion (*ajiṇṇo—Jāt.* II, 362); rheumatism (*vātābādha—Jāt.* VI, 179; *Vinayamahāvagga,* VI, 14.2); leprosy (*kuṭṭhaṃ—Jāt.* VI, 383; Cf. *Vinaya texts,* S.B.E., I, pp. 191, 230); headache (*sīsābādha—Jāt.* VI, 331); and eye-diseases (*Jāt.* VI, 74). The *Jātakas* do not prescribe remedies for these diseases which may be gathered from other Pali texts and commentaries (vide my *Drugs and Diseases known to the early Buddhists* published in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume,* 161-164).

The *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (*Jāt.* No. 498) points out that the maintenance of a school depended on its head at Taxila as at other places. He had to depend for the maintenanse of himself and his resident pupils on occasional invitations and contributions from the local people, and partly on the honoraria received from some of his pupils. The honorarium expected from a pupil with means to pay, did not generally exceed one thousand pieces of money. Benares was also an important centre of learning. In the Buddha's time there were several *mahāsālās* or *snātaka* institutions in Kośala and Aṅga-Magadha maintained on royal fiefs. Side by side with these institutions there were *āśramas* or *āraṇyaka* schools founded and maintained by distinguished sages. The *Tittira-Jātaka* speaks of one such institution in which the *vedas* were chanted and taught (*Jāt.* III, 536 ff.). The *Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka* speaks of another in which the resident pupils became once unruly and disrespectful to their teacher under the belief that they knew as much as their teacher (*Jāt.* II, 260). The Sarabhaṅga, Mahāgovinda and other Jātakas mention institutions of this type, where it was difficult to make accommodation for resident pupils. Bāvarī's hermitage on the Godāvarī was one of such institutions in the Buddha's time. The Brāhmaṇa parivrājakas formed a travelling school of thought. Among the popular teachers of piety and morality mention may be made of ballad-reciters and improvisers of verses (*kavis*). Besides the colleges and religious institutions there existed technical schools. There was a technical school of the Śākyas, which was a long-terraced mansion built in a mango-grove (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* S.B.B., IV, p. 111). There is no mention of any such technical school in the Jātakas.[11]

The profession of a teacher in ancient times was undoubtedly a very noble one. Youths from different countries used to go to important seats of learning to study under the guidance of famous teachers. Princes from various kingdoms were sent to Takkasilā (Taxila) for education (*Jātaka* I, 259; II, 278; Vol. V, 161, 210, 457). Many young princes and sons of Brahmins were trained by a famous teacher of Taxila (*Jāt.* III, 122). The Kṣatriya and Brahmin youths coming from all parts of India were taught by a famous teacher at Takkasilā (*Jāt.* III, 158). Two Caṇḍāla youths disguised as Brahmins were learning science from a teacher at Taxila but they were expelled when found out. (*Jāt.* IV, p. 391). A young brahmin went there for learning the scriptures but for his folly he failed to master them. (*Ibid.,* I, 447). There was a charity scholar at Benares who was taught free by the inhabitants of Benares (*Jāt.* I, 239). The *Jātakas* do not mention any female student going to Takkasilā for education. There was a custom that those who were taught either gave the teacher's fee or attended on the teacher in return for the instruction they received (*Ibid.,* II, 277 ff.). In one of the *Jātakas* (*Jātaka,* II, p. 277) a very beautiful picture of the student-life of those days has been drawn. A prince of Benares went to Taxila to learn arts from a renowned teacher. He carried with him 1,000 gold coins as teacher's fees. In those days there were two classes of pupils: (1) those who used to pay for their education; (2) those who served their teacher during the day-time in lieu of payment, and received lessons during the night. The paying pupil used to live in the house of the teacher like his eldest son. The teacher gave schooling to him on every lucky day. The youth applied himself to his work and finished his courses (*Jātaka* II, 278).

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[11] Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism,* pp. 282 ff.

The subjects taught were the three *vedas* and the 18 *vijjās*. The three *vedas* are the *Rigveda, Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda*. The *Atharvaveda* as the fourth *veda* has been mentioned nowhere in Pāli *Jātakas*. In many places in the *Jātakas* (II, 347; I, 406, 431, 447; V. 177, 210) pupils are mentioned as learning *sippas* but the word *sippa* appears to have been used in the comprehensive sense of learning.

A prince of Benares, a lad of 16 years old, was given one pair of one-soled sandal, a sunshade of leaves and 1,000 pieces of money and he was asked to go to Taxila and study there. The boy obeyed and went there. He reached his teacher's abode when he had finished his lecture. When the lad set his eyes on the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade and with a respectful greeting stood silently where he was. The teacher saw him and gave him something to eat. He then enquired about his whereabouts and the purpose of his coming. The boy laid at his teacher's feet his purse of 1,000 pieces for his instruction (*Jātaka*, II, 278). There was a famous teacher at Taxila in the kingdom of Gandhāra who had 500 young brahmins as pupils (*Jāt.* I, 317, 402). There was a young brahmin of learning and wisdom at Benares who was a pupil of the king's chaplain. He was taught three *vedas* (*Jāt.* I, 343). A brahmin, when he grew up, studied at Taxila under a famous teacher. Here he learnt the three *vedas*, 18 branches of knowledge (*vijjaṭṭhānāni*) and archery. After completing his education he left Taxila and came to the Mahiṃsaka kingdom[12] in search of practical experience (*Jāt.*, I., 356). An archer was appointed on a daily pay of one thousand *kahāpaṇas*. After he had defeated 500 archers in one contest, it was increased to one hundred thousand. In appreciation of his proficiency he was offered money amounting to 1800 crores (*Jāt.* V. 127 ff). A young brahmin acquired all the arts and archery at Taxila (*Jāt.* III. 219, 229, 249,

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[12] It was near the Mount Candaka in a bend of the river Kaṇṇapaṇṇā, where it issues out of the lake Saṃkhapāla. It is the Malayagiri, the Malabar Ghats (Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 67).

308, 352). The Bodhisatta was unrivalled in the art of archery (*Jāt.* II. 87). A northern brahmin perfected his education at Taxila (*Jāt.* I. 406). He learnt all arts when he grew up and became a famous teacher with 500 young brahmins studying under him. (*Jāt.* I. 436). A member of a rich brahmin's family became a renowned professor who instructed many young brahmins (*Jāt.* I. 447). Young nobles and brahmins from all wealthy families flocked to a famous teacher at Benares, who perfected his education at Taxila. They became his pupils. A country brahmin who learnt the three *Vedas* (*tayo vede*) and 18 branches of learning (*aṭṭhārasa vijjaṭṭhānāni*), and who stopped at Benares to look after his estate, daily came twice or thrice to listen to his teachings (*Jāt.* I, 463). After learning the three *Vedas* at Taxila a northern brahmin lived a mundane life for some time. After his parents' death he became a recluse. (*Jāt.* I. 505). A wealthy brahmin completed his education at Taxila. As teacher he enjoyed world-wide fame and he had many young brahmins as his pupils. One of these pupils was taught the spell for raising the dead to life (*Jāt.* I. p. 510). A son of a royal chaplain learnt the three *Vedas* and the elephant lore (*hatthisuttaṃ*) at Taxila (*Jāt.* II. 47).

A famous teacher at Taxila preached the moral law to anyone he might see. He was requested by his disciples to preach it only to those who wished to hear him. At this the teacher was filled with regret (*Jātaka,* III, 171). The sacred texts were learnt by five hundred pupils from a famous teacher at Taxila. The senior of them named Setaketu was very proud of his caste, himself being a brahmin (*Jātaka,* III. 232). A brahmin, when he grew up, came back from Taxila, learning all the arts. He was afterwards appointed minister to the king of Benares. He taught the king things, temporal and spiritual (*Jātaka,* III, 342, 400). The son of a royal chaplain who was educated at Taxila, was appointed king's councillor in things, human and divine (*Jāt.* II. 173—*atthadhammānusāsaka,* cf. *Jāt.* III. 21). A brahmin completed his education at Taxila when he grew up and learnt all the arts there (*Jātaka* III, 428; *Ibid.,* IV, 74; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 463; *Ibid.,* IV, 22). A renowned professor of Benares gave instruction in science to 500 young brahmins (*Jāt.* III, 537). Once the family of the royal chaplain of Benares was destroyed by a peculiar disease (*ahivāta-*

karoga).[13] His only surviving son came to Taxila and learnt all arts and accomplishments from a renowned teacher. He then bade his teacher farewell and departed with the intent of travelling in different regions (*Jāt.* IV, 201). A young brahmin acquired learning at Taxila and when his education was finished, he said to his teacher, "I will use all diligence, my teacher, to bring you the money due for your teaching." He then departed from his teacher (*Jāt.* IV, 224). A young brahmin of Benares was educated at Taxila. After the death of his parents, much distressed he retired to the life of a recluse and there he cultivated the faculties and attainments (*Jāt.* II, 411). Five hundred pupils were instructed in sacred verses by a renowned teacher who was well-posted in the three *vedas* (*Jāt.* II, 260; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 18). A famous teacher of Taxila knew the art of prognostication (*aṅgavijjā*)[14] and was possessed of the magic power (*Jāt.* III, 122). A prince of Benares diligently learnt all the arts from a brahmin who became a world-famous teacher and who possessed the power of divination (*aṅgavijjā—Jāt.* III, 215; Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, 176). A prince learnt all the arts at Taxila and on his return, his father was pleased with the accomplishments he displayed and appointed him viceroy. After his father's death he became king (*Jāt.* III, 407; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 168). A prince attained mastery in all the branches of education (*Jāt.* IV, 105). Once a king fell ill. Great and renowned physicians were unable to cure him. A young man after mastering all branches of science from Taxila, came back to his parents at Benares, having attained proficiency in medicine. He asked the king as to the origin of his disease. The king said that his disease had arisen from greed and the young man was afterwards able to cure him (*Jāt.* IV, 171). A king of Benares was advised by his courtier on things, spiritual and temporal (*Jāt.* IV, 197). A prince of Mithilā, when he grew up, made up his mind to study at Taxila. He went there and sat down in a hall at the city-gate. A prince of Benares also went there for the same purpose. They became friends and went together to the teacher. They paid the teacher's fee and studied. After completing their education they took leave of their teacher (*Jāt.* IV, 315 ff.). A prince studied at Taxila. On returning he proved his knowledge to his father (*Jāt.* IV, 401-402). A prince of Magadha acquired arts at Taxila and returned home (*Jāt.* V. 161; Cf. *Ibid.*, V. 227). A prince and a son of the royal chaplain grew together in the palace and were fast friends. When they came of age they acquired all learning at Taxila and returned home. The king of Benares appointed his son to be the viceroy, and the son of the royal chaplain still lived with him (*Jāt.* V, 263). A prince of the kingdom of Kuru was sent by his father to Taxila for his education by a famous teacher. Taking his teacher's fee the boy started on his way there. A prince of Benares was sent there for the same purpose. Both of them met together and struck up a friendship. They went to the teacher's house and saluted him. After declaring their origin they said they had come to be instructed in arts. The teacher readily agreed to their proposals. Offering him fees for instruction they entered upon their studies. Many other princes also received instructions from this teacher. The prince of the Kuru kingdom being the senior pupil soon attained proficiency in teaching (*Jāt.* V, 457 ff.—*nipphattiṃ pāpuṇi*). The king of Benares appointed his family priest as a judge knowing his wisdom and erudition (*Jāt.* VI, 131—*taṃ kira rājā paṇḍitoti vinicchaye nisīdāpesi*). A minister of a Kuru king had great eloquence in discoursing of the law. He instructed the king concerning temporal and spiritual matters (*Jāt.* VI, 255). Kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their city, used to send their sons to distant countries to complete their education (*Jāt.* II, p. 277—*Porāṇakarājāno ca attano putte attano nagare disāpāmokkhe ācariye vijjamāne pi sippuggahaṇatthāya dūre tiro raṭṭhaṃ pesenti*). A king of Benares had a valuer (*agghakārako*) who used to value horses, elephants, jewels, gold etc., (*Jāt.* I, 124). A king of Benares was fond of hunting and he used to go to hunt with his subjects (*Jāt.* I, 149). A king of Kosala also liked hunting very much. Daily he used to hunt with a big retinue (*Jāt.* III, 270). A prince was educated at Taxila and on his father's death he became a righteous king (*Jāt.* II, 323; *Ibid.*, II, 349). A prince after completing his education at Taxila, was made a viceroy by his father (*Jāt.* II, 366). After completing his education at Taxila, a prince became king on his father's death (*Jāt.* II, 400, 427). A prince of Kosala went to Taxila where he acquired the three *vedas* and 18 arts (*tayo vede, aṭṭhārasa-sippāni*). He then left Taxila and while still studying the practical uses of arts, he came to a border village (*Jāt.* III, 115). A prince of Benares was also taught three *vedas* by a renowned teacher of Taxila. This teacher had his power of divination (*aṅgavijjāvasena*) (*Jāt.* III, 158). A prince learnt all the duties of the world within a space of 7 years. He also learnt three *vedas* (*Jāt.* II, 297). A prince of Rājagriha and the son of the royal chaplain who were friends, after educating themselves at Taxila, wandered through towns and villages in order to acquire all practical uses and understood country observances (*sabbasamayasippaṃ ca desacarittaṃ ca*).[15] A sort of liberal education was given to students in Ancient India.[16]

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[13] Snake-wind disease. It is of a virulent type. This disease broke out in the most virulent epidemic form in Rājagriha, Śrāvastī and other places. See *Vinaya*, I, p. 78; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, 169, 187, 231; III, 437; *Jāt.*, II, 79.

[14] Looking at the knuckles, etc., and after muttering a charm to divine whether a man is well-born or lucky or not (Cf. *Brahmajālasutta*, *Dīgha*, I, p. 9).

It is interesting to note that the special qualification of a priest was to understand the language of all animals (*sabbarutaññu hoti —Jāt.*, I, 211). The art of making straw-baskets was known to the people of Benares, who used to hang them up in several places for the shelter and comfort of birds (*Jāt.* I, 242). A member of a well-to-do family became a dice-player (*akkhadhutto*). A sharper played with him who kept on playing while he was winning. But when losing he broke up the game by putting one of the dice into his mouth and pretending that it was lost (*Jāt.* I, 379). Dice-playing (*jūtaṃ kīḷanto*) was in vogue in the royal family of Benares (*Jāt.* III. 91). A member belonging to an acrobat's family learnt the javelin dance from another acrobat (*laṃghananaṭaka*) and with his master he used to travel about exhibiting his skill. His master was acquainted with four kinds of javelin dance (*catunnaṃ ñeva sattīnaṃ laṃghanasippaṃ jānāti—Jāt.* I, 430). There was a stone-cutter (*pāsāṇakoṭṭhaka*) at Benares. He became an expert in working stones (*Jāt.* I, 478). The spell for raising the dead to life was taught at Taxila (*Jāt.* I, 510—*matakuṭṭhāpanamantaṃ*). A brahmin of Benares was a lawyer by calling (*vohāraṃ*

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[15] *Jātaka*, III, 238.

[16] Law, *Social, economical and religious conditions of ancient India according to the Buddhist texts*, published in the *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 68 ff.

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katvā—Jāt. II, 15). The hunters were in the habit of setting snares in the peacock's feeding ground (*Jāt.* II, 36). An elephant trainer's son was carefully taught the art of training elephants (*Jāt.* II. 94). The son of an elephant-trainer was taught the art of managing the elephant (*Jāt.* II, 221). Wrestling was considered as an art and the wrestling-ring (*yuddhamaṇḍala*) was prepared in front of the royal palace. There was an enclosure for the games (*Jāt.* IV, 81). A master-mariner's son gained a complete mastery over the art of seamanship (*niyyāmakasippe*), when he was 16 years old. After his father's death he became the head mariner and plied the mariner's calling. With him aboard no ship came to grief. When he lost his eyes by the salt-water, he was appointed by the king as the valuer (*agghakārako*) and assessor who used to assess the worth of valuable elephants, horses, choice pearls and gems (*Jāt.* IV, 137; Cf. *Jāt.* I, p. 124). Not far from Benares there was a village of carpenters (*vaḍḍhakigāma*) where 500 carpenters lived. They could shape beams and planks for house-building and put together the framework of one storey or two storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the mainpost onwards. They could build houses to order (*Jāt.* II, 18). Seven great entrance-gates were built and a palace with seven storeys (*Jāt.* IV, 378—*sattadvārakoṭṭhakaṃ sattabhūmaka-pāsādaṃ*). Near Benares there was a great town of carpenters, who could make a bed or a chair or a house etc. They also built a mighty ship (*Jāt.* IV. 159 ff.). The *Saṅkhajātaka* (Jāt. II, 127 ff.) refers to a merchant-vessel being 800 cubits in length, 600 in breadth and 20 fathoms in depth. The *Samuddavāṇijajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 446) mentions a large ship which could accommodate 1,000 families of carpenters. A brahmin carpenter earned his livelihood by making chariots (*Jāt.* IV, 207). Wagons were made by professional carpenters out of the wood collected from the forest (*Jāt.* IV, 207). The spell of finding out hidden treasure was learnt by a Kosalan prince at Taxila (*nidhiuddharaṇamantaṃ—Jāt.* III, 115-16). The spell for charming snakes was learnt at Taxila by a youth of Benares (*Jāt.* IV, 456 ff). A priest on the birth of a son looked up to the sky for the purpose of divining the son's destiny (*Jāt.* V, 127). The son of a royal priest after completing his education at Taxila, received from his teacher a valuable sword (*khaggaratana*), a bow made up of the horn of a ram (*saṇdhiyutta-meṇḍaka-siṅgadhanu*), a quiver made up of joints (*sandhiyutta-tuṇhīraṃ*) armour (*sannāhakañcukaṃ*) and a turban (*uṇhīsa.*) He was further requested to show more feats, viz., a stick of arrows (*saralaṭṭhi*), a rope of arrows (*sararajju*), a row of arrows (*saraveṇī*), a palace of arrows (*sarapāsāda*), a pavilion of arrows (*saramaṇḍapa*), a ladder of arrows (*sarasopāna*), a tank of arrows (*sarapokkharaṇī*), a lotus of arrows (*sarapaduma*) and a flight of arrows (*saravassa*) (*Jāt.* V. 130). Mention is made of fights of rams and elephants in *Jāt.* I, 425; IV., 53, 223 gāthā; cf. *Dīgha* I. p. 6 A royal priest, who also acted as a preceptor, was appointed from the group of teachers, playmates, comrades or class-fellows of the king (*Jāt.* II, 376; IV, 270; V, 127; I, 289; III, 31).

There were match-makers (*Jāt.* IV, 363). The village superintendent (*gāmabhojaka*) collected taxes for the king (*Jāt.* I, 354). He exercised judicial powers in the villages in as much as he settled quarrels and made the guilty pay a fine (*Jāt.* I, 483). There were watchmen who guarded the fields (*Khettarakkhakā, Jāt.* II, 110). There were gardeners (*uyyānapālā—Jāt. I,* 120; III, 240); wood-gatherers (*Jāt.* I, 133; IV. 148); doctors skilled in the cure of snake-bites (*visavejjā, Jāt.* I, 310-11); fishermen (*bālisikā*[17]—*Jāt.* I, 482); ferrymen[18] (*nāvikā, Jāt.* III, 230); smiths (*kammārā*) and tailors (*tunnakārā, Jāt.* III, 281; IV, 387). There were beaters of drums and blowers of conches (*bherivādakā, saṅkhadhamakā*) (*Jāt.* I, 283, 284; VI, 7). Bathers were found to remove bodily impurities of others by baths (*Jāt.* IV. 365).

The *Vessantarajātaka* (*Jāt.* No. 547) mentions Benares cloth, linen and fine Kodumbara, which were used by an Indian queen.

The *Giraggasamajjā* was a festival referred to in the Jātaka (III, 538) in which feast was indulged in.

In ancient times the people following the same occupation lived together, and the locality in which they resided, was named after the vocation of its people. Hence there existed villages of smiths (*kammāragāma*—Jāt. III, 281), hunters (*nesādagāma*—

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[17] Cowell translates *bālisikā* as line-fishermen who lived in a family. One of these fishermen taking his tackle went off with his little boy and cast his hook into the most likely waters quite known to his fellow fishermen (*Jāt.* I., Cowell, pp. 298-99).

[18] A foolish ferryman asked for his fare after taking people across.

Jāt. VI, 71) and carpenters (*vaḍḍhakigāma—Jāt.* II, 18) already referred to.

In majority of cases the slaves were employed as house-hold servants.[19] They were regarded as the property of their masters (*Jāt.* III, 129). The *Jātaka* (V. 313 ff.), speaks of manumitted slaves. Children born of slave parents generally took up the same profession (*Jāt.* I, 451). The male and female slaves were domestic servants who lived in the house of their masters and performed all household duties (*Jāt.* I, 200, 225, 350). A slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking, fetching water, pounding rice, carrying food, watching the field, giving alms, handing plates and dishes, bringing spittoons, fetching fans during meals and sweeping yards and stables (*Jāt.* I, 453, 484; III, 163; IV, 67; V, 105, 284, 413; VI, 138). The *Vidhurapaṇḍitajataka* (*Jāt.* VI, p. 385, *gāthā* 1238) mentions four kinds of slaves: (a) some are slaves from their mothers; (b) some are slaves bought for money; (c) some have become slaves of their own will; and (d) some are slaves driven by fear (*āmāya-dāsāpi bhavantih'eke, dhanena kītāpi bhavanti dāsā, sayam pi h'eke upayanti dāsā, bhayā paṇunnāpi bhavanti dāsā*). Cf. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī,* I, p. 300—*antojātā* is used in the sense of 'begotten on slave women.' Vide also Law, *Indological Studies,* II, p. 78. The *Jātakas* contain instances where the slaves were bought for 700 *kahāpaṇas*[20] (*Jāt.* III, 343). There were maid-servants (*dāsīs*), nurses (*dhātīs*) and female personal attendants (*paricārikā*) mentioned in the *Jātakas* (II, 428; V, 212; III, 377, 391; IV. 79).

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[19] Cf. *Arthaśāstra,* Chap. XIII.

[20] The coin called *kahāpaṇa* was either of copper, of silver or of gold. A copper *kahāpaṇa* was probably worth a penny (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary,* p. 173).

Bengal Under the Diwani Administration, 1765-1772

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Bengal presented a scene of chaos and corruption when Clive returned from England in May, 1765, to take charge of the Presidency and Governorship of Fort William. During this second tenure of his office, Clive was called upon to remedy the evils created by English private trade and greed on the one hand and the break-down of the Nawab's authority on the other, but the system which he initiated rendered the situation still more chaotic and led to a period of oppression, the like of which is unparallelled in the history of the province. Indeed, the period of the Diwani administration witnessed not only the final collapse of the indigenous government, but also the evil consequences of a perverted organisation known as 'dual system' under which the English wielded the real power but evaded the responsibility for administration, and kept up a show of subservience to the titular Nawab for no other reason than sheer expediency and self-interest. The countless iniquities from which Bengal suffered from 1765 to 1772 were due to the divided and complicated authority which Clive's settlement had set up.

Clive's plan of government was an ingenious device whereby he sought to conceal the fundamental change that had come in the position of the Company in consequence of the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, on 12th August, 1765. The Treaty of Allahabad by which Clive secured this Diwani authority constitutes a landmark in the history of Bengal, for it not only formed the basis of Clive's political settlement after the victory of Buxar, but it also led to that administrative transition which prepared the ground for the final emergence of the modern British system of administration in India. The transition marked the extinction of the Nawab's authority, and ushered in a system under which responsibility was carefully separated from power. Though fully conscious of the fact that nothing was left to the Nawab except the name and shadow of authority, Clive insisted cynically, "This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate."[1]

The historic *Farman* of Shah Alam, dated 12th August, 1765, by which the Company secured the Diwani of the Bengal *Subah*, and the articles of agreement between the Nawab of Bengal, Najmu-d-Daulah, and Emperor Shah Alam, dated 19th August, 1765, provided[2] that the Company was to be security for the regular payment by the Nawab to the Emperor of the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees per annum as the royal tribute and that, as the Company was to assume responsibility for the military defence of the *Subah,* it was to appropriate to its own use the remainder of the revenues after paying for the expenses of the *Nizamat* the annual sum of *Sicca* rupees 53,86,131-9-0. So far as the Emperor was concerned, the amount allotted to him was nothing but a windfall, for he had so far received nothing from Bengal, and he now received payment for granting to the Company what was scarcely his to grant. But still, even though the right of the Emperor was purely nominal, his formal recognition of the Company's status was bound to carry weight not only with the Indian powers but with the rival European merchants settled in the country. As for the Nawab who was virtually deprived of all his powers and resources, the amount sanctioned for him was barely sufficient for his household expenses and for the support of his dignity. Thus, the grant of Diwani conferred on the Company the right to enjoy[3] all the surplus revenues of the *Subah* after providing for the Emperor's tribute and the Nawab's allowance. The Company thus became, to all intents and purposes, 'the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom.'[4]

The English Resident at the court of Murshidabad exercised the functions of the Diwani as the Collector of the King's revenue under the supervision of the Select Committee at Calcutta. Along with Muhammad Riza Khan who was the Company's Naib Diwan for Bengal, he superintended the whole collections, received the monthly payments from the Zamindars, disbursed the stated revenues allotted to the Emperor and the Nawab, inquired into the causes of deficiencies, redressed injuries sustained or committed by the revenue officers, transmitted the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure and a monthly account of the treasury to the President and Select Committee.[5] The Resident was subsequently designated 'Collector of the Dewanny'.[6] The collection of the revenue of Bihar was placed under the control of the Chief at Patna. Though he acted in conjunction with the Naib Diwan for Bihar, Raja Dhiraj Narayan, and after the latter's dismissal, Raja Shitab Ray, he was subject to the supervision of the Resident at the Durbar to whom he forwarded the collections as well as the monthly accounts of his office. The Resident transmitted them to the Select Committee at Calcutta. It is apparent therefore that the Resident at the Durbar occupied a key position in the Diwani machinery, and his duties were both multifarious and important. In view of this fact, the Directors insisted that this office was to be chosen not merely on the ground of seniority in the service, but on the ground of an established reputation for integrity, efficiency and a knowledge of the country language. As the Resident also held the office of the Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar, it was soon realised that he could not be expected to exercise the functions of the two offices satisfactorily. The authorities at Calcutta therefore separated the two offices in 1768 under instructions[8] from the Directors, but they were entrusted to the same person once again in 1772 when the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta.

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[1] Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 16, 1767.
[2] Bengal Select Committee, Sep. 7, 1765.
[3] Bengal Select Committee, Oct. 5, 1765.
[4] Letter from Select Committee to Court, September 30, 1765.

The office of the Naib Diwan previously carried no fixed salary, for the Nawab's ministers enjoyed valuable emoluments and perquisites in accordance with the custom of the country. But, Muhammad Riza Khan urged upon the authorities at Calcutta to fix a regular salary with which he could maintain the dignity of his office. This, he argued,[9] would "prove more honourable to himself and advantageous to the revenue." The Select Committee thereupon resolved at a meeting held on 31st December, 1766, that in lieu of all the emoluments hitherto enjoyed by the Naib Diwans, an annual salary of twelve lakhs of rupees would in future be assigned to them, the amount to be deducted from the monthly collections and divided among Muhammad Riza Khan, Rai Durlabh, and Shitab Ray, the three Naib Diwans of the *Subah*. The proportions[10] allotted to them were fixed as follows: nine lakhs to Muhammad Riza Khan, two lakhs to Rai Durlabh and one lakh to Shitab Ray. The salaries allowed to the ministers were exorbitant, but they were at first justified by the authorities on grounds of past usage as well as political considerations. Subsequently, the amount had to be reduced in accordance with the wishes[11] of the Directors who wanted that Muhammad Riza Khan should receive no more than five lakhs of rupees per year.

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[5] Letter from Select Committee to Court, Jan. 24, 1767.
[6] Bengal Select Committee, Feb. 11, 1767.
[7] Letter from Court, Dec. 24, 1765.
[8] Letter from Court, Nov. 20, 1767.

Though the Diwani implied the assumption of a fair portion of administrative jurisdiction, the fact was not realised by the Directors who thought that they could appropriate the surplus revenues without discharging the administrative duties of the Diwan. In fact, they strongly enjoined upon their servants not to interfere with the work of the government either directly or indirectly. In their letter of 17th May, 1766, the Directors wrote[12] as follows: "We observe the account you give[13] of the office and power of the King's Dewan in former times was 'the collecting of all the revenues and after defraying the expenses of the army and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamaut, to remit the remainder to Delhi.' This description of it is not the office we wish to execute; the experience we have already had in the province of Burdwan convinces us how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts to conceal the real value of the country, to perplex and to elude

[9] Bengal Select Committee, Dec. 31, 1766.

[10] Letter to Court, March 17, 1769. The amount shown against Shitab Ray is slightly different according to Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

[11] Letter from Court, April 10, 1771.

[12] Letter from Court, May 17, 1766.

[13] Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

the payments. We therefore, entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government in the upholding the dignity of the Soubah." The Directors added, "We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collection and disposal of the revenues, which office, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our Resident at the Durbar, under the control of the Governor and Select Committee." "The administration of justice, the appointment of offices of zemindarries", they continued, "in short, whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration, we understand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his Ministers."

The reasons why Clive was unwilling to accept the responsibilities and obligations implicit in the Diwani are easy to understand. *Firstly,* it was apprehended that a precipitate or extensive assumption of public authority was bound to give umbrage to other rival European nations, and thereby embarrass England's position from the European point of view. *Secondly,* the Company's position in England itself was not secure, and it was deemed politic to guard against all possible chances of Parliamentary intervention in its affairs.*Thirdly,* the authorities did not have at their disposal an adequate number of trained and competent English officials who could be called upon to fulfil the obligations of the Diwani in spirit and letter. *Fourthly,* an open avowal or assumption of public power was dangerous also from the Indian point of view, for such a step might cause displeasure both in and outside Bengal. *Fifthly,* it was considered more economical to leave the actual work of administration in the hands of the Nawab's officials than to take over the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the Company's own servants, for, as Clive wrote[14] to the Directors, "three times the present member of civil servants would be insufficient for that purpose." *Sixthly,* under the sanction of a titular Nawab, it was believed, all encroachments could be more easily checked, and all grievances more expeditiously examined and redressed. *Lastly,* Clive and his Select Committee considered it financially more profitable to avoid the responsibilities of government, for in that way alone they hoped to save a huge sum[15] annually which could defray all the expenses of the Company's investment, furnish the whole of the China Treasure, meet the demands of the other English settlements in India, and still leave a considerable balance in the treasury.

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[14] Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

[15] 122 lakhs of *sikkah* Rupees or £ 1,650,900 Sterling. (Clive's letter to Court, Sep. 30, 1765).

In justification of their plan, Clive and his Select Committee mentioned the following advantages thereof in their letters[16] to the Court of Directors. *Firstly,* revolutions would no longer be possible in Bengal, for the means of effecting them would in future be wanting to the Nawab. *Secondly,* the Company's servants would no longer find it profitable to foment disturbances from which there could be no benefit to themselves, for restitution money or donations could not be obtained from the revenues now under the control of the Company. *Thirdly,* the abuses inevitably resulting from the assumption of public authority would be effectually obviated. *Fourthly,* the possessions and influence of the Company would be rendered permanent and secure. *Fifthly,* the surplus revenues would be sufficient to finance the Company's China trade, provide for its investment, relieve the wants of the other Presidencies, and pay off the Company's Bonds. *Sixthly,* the Company would no longer depend for the support of their military establishment on the Nawab's bounty. *Seventhly,* the Nawab henceforth would have nothing but the name and shadow of authority, and he could no longer answer the expectations of the venal and mercenary out of his insufficient stipend. *Lastly,* the worst that might happen in future to the Company would proceed from temporary ravages only, which could never become so general as to present the Diwani revenues from yielding a sufficient balance to defray the civil and military charges and furnish the necessary investments.

Under the dual system that Clive introduced, the Nawab remained the ostensible source of power, but actually he was turned into a pensioner of state, a rubber stamp at the disposal of the authorities at Calcutta. Though the Company was the *de facto* sovereign, everything was done in the name of the Nawab, and the fiction of a Nazim's government was carefully maintained. In view of the inexperience and incapacity of the young Nawab,

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[16] Letter to Court, Sept. 30, Nov. 28, 1765, Jan. 31, Sept. 8, 1766.

Najmu-d-Daulah, who was recognised as the Subahdar of Bengal after the death of his father, Mirjafar in 1765, Clive and his Select Committee placed the administration in the hands of deputies, and partitioned the central executive in a manner which prevented all power from being concentrated in the hands of Muhammad Riza Khan, Naib Diwan, and associated the latter in the work of government with Rai Durlabh and Jagat Seth, each of whom was to enjoy an equal share of influence. This triumvirate managed the affairs of the Nizamat jointly, and none of them could act singly in any measure of government, and all were subject to the control of the Company. The state treasury was placed under three different locks and keys, and each of the ministers had a key, so that no money could be disbursed for any purpose without the joint knowledge and consent of all of them. The Resident at the Durbar was authorised to inspect the treasury accounts from time to time. If any minister acted contrary to the opinion of the other two, the latter were required to give advice to the Governor so that the matter might be placed before the members of the Council or Committee. Under this partition of ministerial authority each minister became a check upon the conduct of the others, and together with the nominal Nazim they allowed their continuance to the Company.

Under the regulations[17] of the Diwani administration framed by the Select Committee, the Nawab's military power was totally undermined, for he was no longer to be allowed to maintain a regular army. The regulations provided that the Nawab could keep only such number of horse and foot as the Company should deem necessary for the business of revenue collections and for the support of his own dignity. Clive believed that if the Nawab were to be allowed to have a regular military force, he would easily raise sufficient money with which he could think of regaining his sovereignty. "Even", he argued,[18] "our young Nabob........who has little abilities, and less education to supply the want of them; mean, weak and ignorant, as this man is, he would, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, pursue the very paths of his predecessors. It is impossible therefore to trust him with power and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army and receipt of the revenues must be kept in your hands. Every wish he may express to obtain either, be assured, is an indication of his desire to reduce you to your original state of dependency, to which you can never return, without ceasing to exist." Deprived of soldiery, the Nawab was powerless to exercise the functions of the Nizamat, and the Company which alone now possessed the forces for the defence of the *Subah* concerned itself only with the supervision of revenue collections and refused to undertake the administrative responsibilities inherent both in the Diwani and the Nizamat. While nobody was responsible for law and order and for welfare of the people, the mock pageantry of a Nawab's administration continued its pitiful existence, with the Company acting as 'the spring which concealed under the shadow of the Nabob's name secretly', gave 'motion to this vast machine of government'.[19]

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[17] Bengal Select Committee, June 21, 1765.
[18] Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

The land revenue system introduced by Clive was in its essentials based on that which had formerly obtained under the Mughal regime. The ownership of all the lands in the *Subah* was vested in the State, and the right of the zamindar or the ryot implied only a certain share of the produce. The state claimed so much of the produce in the form of rents or revenues that the land itself had little economic value beyond that of the standing crop. In the best days of the Mughal Empire the ryot was usually free from oppression, but after its decline he was squeezed by the zamindars and other middlemen to the point of exhaustion. The Diwan collected the revenues with the assistance of his deputies or *naibs* who had under them a hierarchy of officials with varied functions and powers. These officials fell under two groups: (1) Collectors, and (2) Supervisors. The first group included the zamindars, taluqdars, jagirdars, chaudhris, tahsildars and mutahids; the second the qanungos, daroghahs, mutasaddis and amils. The sources of the Diwani revenue may be classified under four headings: (1) land revenue, (2) duties and customs, (3) farms of trade privileges, and (4) fines and forfeitures. Of these, the revenue derived from lands formed the main item of state receipts. The other sources were more or less minor ones in point of value and importance.

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[19] Letter to Court, Jan. 24, 1767.

The land revenue was farmed out either to the zamindars who holding their title by *sanad* or charter had in course of time acquired a sort of hereditary right and were not normally removed so long as they produced the fixed farm, or to other temporary farmers such as *Ijarahdars,* or to officials directly appointed by the Diwan under such designations as Faujdars, Amils and Tahsildars. The Government made yearly contracts for the land revenue with all these various classes of tax-collectors. Unless he was a defaulter, no tax-collector was ordinarily removed or deprived of his lands. But, so long as he paid the state dues he could usually exact the maximum profit out of land revenue because of the absence of effective checks on his malpractices.

The annual *Bandobast* (or rent roll) was fixed or renewed every year on the festival day named the *Punyah* (holy day), which ordinarily occurred in the month of May for Bengal, and in the month of September for Bihar. The Government usually settled the rent roll for each area with zamindars, if there were any, and where zamindars were not available, other farmers or even officials had to be appointed to take charge of the collections. This general *Bandobast* was followed by separate agreements, into which the zamindars, farmers or others entered with ancient owners or tenants, or with new tenants. In accordance with ancient usage, such agreements once made with tenants for lands held by them and their families were to be treated as inviolable, and the tenants were not to be oppressed so long as they paid the dues originally agreed upon. But, this usage was, however, often violated because of the absence of proper supervision. Being without appeal, the tenants not unoften deserted their lands in despair and became vagabonds or dacoits. Besides, the farming system under which the Company tried to squeeze as much revenue as was possible to collect could hardly be conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the poor tenantry.

"What a destructive system," wrote[20] Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, in a letter to Mr. Verelst, Governor and President at Fort William, on 24th May, 1769, "is this for the poor inhabitants! The Aumils have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country where they make the collections, nor have they any certainty of holding their places beyond the year; the best recommendation they can have is to pay up their Kistbundees punctually, to which purpose they fail not to reck the country whenever they find they can't otherwise pay their Kists and secure a handsome sum for themselves." "On this destructive plan, and with a continual demand for more revenue," continued Mr. Becher, "have the collections been made ever since the English have been in possession of the Dewannee."

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[20] Bengal Select Committee, July 8, 1769.

Within the frame-work of the revenue sytsem established by Clive, certain minor reforms were introduced by his immediate successor, Governor Verelst. Verelst appears to have believed that the existing system, if duly corrected, could still be made to work satisfactorily. That is why he sought to preserve it "as entire and unimpaired as possible."[21] On the occasion of the very first *Punyah* attended by him as Governor, he took steps to provide for the reformation of a number of glaring abuses in the collection of the revenues. *Firstly,* the settlement being too high in some cases, the balances happened to be large, and recurred from year to year. As it was clear that the revenue of such over-rated lands could not be fully collected, reductions were allowed and the over-rates were struck off. *Secondly,* the heavy charges of the collections were substantially reduced by the dismissal of the numerous rabble of troops maintained by the Faujdars and other officials. *Thirdly,* the zamindars were strictly enjoined upon to promote the cultivation of their lands and afford every protection to the industrious ryots, and were at the same time warned that any misconduct on their part would meet with condign punishment. *Fourthly,* to stop the confusion caused by the frequent change of the names of the districts in the revenue accounts, and to prevent the frauds that might be concealed under such practices, the Governor strongly recommended to the ministers that one particular name should always be used to specify the same district. *Fifthly,* the practice of incorporating the outstanding balances of former years with the rents of the present year was found to be productive of many inconveniences. The frequent dismissal of the collectors, either on account of inefficiency or misconduct, rendered the outstanding balances heavier every year, and no collector could be easily available to accept the office under such conditions. It was decided, therefore, to keep the account of the balance apart, and enter into a separate agreement with the collector, whereby he made himself responsible for such balances as upon enquiry should appear equitable, or might be pointed out to him by the government or by his predecessor in office. By this means the obvious inconvenience of combining the accounts of different years was avoided. Lastly, as it appeared to the Governor that large tracts of land had been alienated under the designation of 'jagirs' by force or fraud, it was decided to resume all such lands for the benefit of the exchequer. Orders were issued, directing all persons holding 'jagirs' to register 'sanads' in the head cutcherry within six months to prove their rights and title, and it was further notified that the 'jagirs' would be continued only to ancient and respectable families, and to those who had just claims.

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[21] Bengal Public Consultations, Dec. 16, 1769.

One of the principal defects of the revenue system of this period was the overassessment of many areas, due to the lack of an exact knowledge of their real value. It was impossible to fix the just value of the lands until a complete measurement was made thereof, and their gross produce fully ascertained. This is why Clive and his successors took a keen interest in the work of survey, and encouraged Captain James Rennell, Surveyor General,[22] to complete his survey of Bengal and form one general chart from those already made by him. At his request, more assistants were allowed to him by Verelst, and a larger number of menial staff was sanctioned. The increase of expenditure on the work of survey was justified on the ground that "the benefit of such an undertaking will be an ample compensation for the charges that are attendant upon it."[23] That the work of survey in those days was neither safe, nor easy would be apparent[24] from the fact that, during one of his surveying tours, Rennell was severely assaulted by a party of '*Sannyasis*', as a result of which he received several serious cuts from their broadswords 'Parvanahs'[25] were, therefore, issued to the gumashtahs of all Faujdars, Amils and Zamindars, directing them to afford the surveyors every possible assistance, and the zamindars were cautioned that if they obstructed the surveyors in their work, they would be severely punished, and even dispossessed of their lands. Despite the issue of the official 'Parvanahs', the surveyors were often badly treated by the hostile zamindars and high-handed Faujdars who complained that the collection of the revenues was greatly interrupted by survey operations.

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[22] Rennell was appointed by Clive to this post by an order of Jan. 1, 1767.

[23] Letter to Court, March 28, 1768.

[24] Captain James Rennell's Journal, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, edited by Mr. T. H. D. Latouche, 1910. The Journal unfortunately ends on March 23, 1767.

Arbitrary assessment under the designation *'Mathaut'* constituted an additional burden on the ryots during this period. The *'Mathaut'* was a general name for all extra demands made for defraying certain special expenses, e.g., for the presentation of robes of honour, etc., on the occasion of the *'Punyah'* (*'Khalat Baha'*), the repairing of bridges and river banks (*'Pooshtebundy'*), the payment of a customary fee to the Nazir and the Mutasaddis of the Cutcherry (*'Rasum Nazarat'*), or the maintenance of the state elephants (*'Fil Khanah'*). The 'Mathaut' was exacted from the ryots in addition to the normal revenue, probably because the authorities feared that the Directors might not allow the aforesaid expenses. That this was an entirely vexatious taxation was, however, fully realised. After his appointment as Resident at the Durbar, Mr. Becher strongly pleaded for the abolition of such exactions on the ground that this was one of the principal causes of the distressed state of the country. "I wish," he wrote, "the word (i.e., *'Mathaut'*) could be abolished and never heard of more."[27] Verelst was willing to abolish these arbitrary demands, and, at his instance, the Select Committee even agreed to forbid the levy of the 'Mathaut' in future. This decision, however, could not be immediately enforced, and the reform was postponed until the time of Warren Hastings.

While the land revenue was collected with the utmost strictness, the revenue demand itself was considerably enhanced after the assumption of the Diwani. Even Clive saw the danger inherent in this policy. On April 25, 1766, he wrote to Mr. Palk, "To attempt further increase of the revenues will be drawing the knot too tight." On September 22, he wrote similarly to Mr. Blomer, "The Company's revenues are already immense; nor can I think of increasing them by the least oppressive mode." At the time of his departure, he advised his successor "not to be very desirous of increasing the revenues, especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the landholders and tenants".[28] Verelst, be it said to his credit, was also opposed to the policy of increasing the revenue, and did recommend and enforce substantial abatements in 1769. "Permit me", he wrote to the Directors in 1768, "to give you my most serious opinion, founded on almost nineteen years' experience in the various branches of your revenues and in various districts of your possessions, that it is totally beyond the power of your administration to make any material addition to your rents, or remit a single rupee in specie home." But, the insistent demand of the Directors for a steady increase in the investments without any corresponding export of specie from England, coupled with the heavy drain of silver from Bengal forced the authorities to raise the collections even against their better judgment. In vain did the latter protest that[29] the enforced increase of the collection was bound to prove "destructive to the country."

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[25] Persian Correspondence: Cop. 1, 1766-67, Nos. 53, 68, 85, etc.

[26] Bengal Select Committee, April 28, 1770.

[27] Letter from Mr. R. Becher, May 24, 1769.

The Ceded and Calcutta lands being directly under the management of the Company's servants were free from the oppression of the Amils employed in the Diwani lands, while as a result of the system initiated during the time of Clive and continued by his successors, these were more prosperous and better cultivated.[30] In fact, the work of the Company's servants in this sphere is in some respects of greater importance than the measures for the Diwani lands. Such was the success of the reforms in the Ceded lands that Verelst who had been mainly responsible for these as supervisor during the time of Clive claimed after his own Governorship that the condition of these lands formed so striking a contrast to that of the other parts of Bengal, where oppression and rack-rent prevailed, that foreigners as well as Indians eagerly wished for a more extensive application of these reforms.

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[28] Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 16, 1767.
[29] Verelst's View, p. 76, July 8, Oct. 12, 1769.
[30] Bengal Select Committee, Aug. 11, 1769.

These reforms[31] were as follows: *first,* the oppressive auction system was stopped, and fairly long leases were encouraged; *second,* a moderate rent was fixed; *third,* the increase of *Bazi Zamin* or charity lands was checked by a proper scrutiny of the sanads; *fourth,* many of the *Ryotty* lands hitherto fraudulently shown as uncultivated areas were brought to the credit of the exchequer; *fifth,* the lands held by the servants in office and their dependents were assessed at a fair rate; *sixth,* the Europeans were forbidden to hold farms on their own account, or in the name of their dependents; *seventh,* nobody holding any post was allowed to hold a farm, except for a small piece of land necessary for the maintenance of his family; *eighth,* to prevent frauds and embezzlement, *pattahs* were granted to the tenants, and the amount of rent which each tenant was to pay was shown in the *pattah; ninth,* the cultivation of the mulberry tree was encouraged by the assessment of the mulberry plantations at a reduced rent, and waste lands were granted on favourable terms; *tenth,* to ascertain the true value of the lands, surveyors were appointed to measure them, and note the quantity of land each tenant held; and, *eleventh,* the collection of additional cesses and *abvabs* was strictly scrutinised to prevent the impositions of the 'Mutasaddis' and the oppression of the farmers.

While the Ceded and Calcutta lands were in no unsatisfactory state, the condition of the Diwani lands was admittedly deplorable mainly on account of the abuses of the revenue system. The Diwani revenues were in themselves a perplexing subject, and the Indian collectors who alone could have supplied any authentic information found it profitable to conceal their knowledge. Besides, most of the old records had either been burnt, or carried away by Mir Qasim during his flight from Bengal. Thus, without an accurate survey of the country, which was bound to take time, a just valuation of the lands was impossible. Conjectural hence frequently excessive, estimates had therefore to be adopted with disastrous consequences, and the balances too were often so heavy that they could not be recovered without oppression.

Despite stringent measures taken against the oppressive Amils and faujdars, their rapacity could not be effectively checked.[32]

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[31] Verelst's View, etc., Bengal District Records.

[32] Bengal Select Committee, Oct. 12, 1769.

The oppressed tenants were usually too poor to quit their homes and seek justice at the capital. Illegal exactions were thus made with impunity, and the long train of *'gumashtahs,' 'dallals', 'paikars', 'pykes,' 'barqandazes'*, and other subordinates employed in the work of collections combined to perpetuate a thousand modes of oppression and taxation, and, in the words of Verelst "fattened on the spoils of the industrious ryot."[33] The resumption of the charity lands re-acted adversely on the economic condition of the people, as a large number of people were suddenly reduced to beggary.[34] Such was the misery of the former holders of the charity lands that they were obliged to pay the revenue by selling their necessary household goods, or even by pawning their children.[35]

The administration of the revenue was further complicated during this period by the anomalous and unscientific character of the silver currency. As no two mints struck coins of a uniform fineness or weight, no actual coin could be treated as the standard coin. In consequence, a nominal coin, called the current rupee, was invented, by which the numerous types of rupees were valued by the *sarrafs.* Besides, a varying rate of *'batta'* was charged on the *'sikkahs'* which were triennially recoined, and as the ryots had to pay the revenue in the newly coined *'sikkahs'* of which a sufficient quantity obviously could never be available, they had to pay an additional *'batta'* for paying the revenue in rupees of previous years. The *'batta,'* therefore, considerably added to the burden of the tenants. The latter had to receive payment for their produce in coins whose value they could not understand, and when they paid those very coins for rent, their value was deducted according to a calculation which they were too ignorant to grasp. The issue of gold coinage during the time of Clive and Verelst only made matters worse. Although the tenants were encouraged to pay the revenue in gold mohurs, the experiment did not succeed owing to the over-valuation of the *Mohurs.*

It was because Verelst was fully convinced of the iniquity of the existing system that he ultimately proposed the institution of

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33. Verelst's View etc., p. 75.
34. Siyarul Mutakhkhirin (Lucknow Text), p. 828.
35. Muzaffar Namah (Allahabad University MS.), p. 438.

English Supervisors in all districts—a policy which constitutes the first step towards the direct assumption of administrative responsibility by the Company's servants, and was the remote beginning of a new system ultimately introduced in the time of Warren Hastings. The success of the English supervision of the Ceded lands had already been so conspicuous that it naturally created the impression that a gradual extension of that system in the Diwani lands was both necessary and practicable. The Resident at the Durbar could alone neither prevent oppression, nor obtain authentic information of the grievances of the people. It was expected, therefore, that if English supervisors were appointed, the tyranny of the local officials would be restrained by them. Besides, the authorities were sensible of the fact that the abuses of the existing system could not be eradicated without a thorough local inquiry. Hence, to provide for an adequate reformation, and at the same time to keep the revenues intact, it was necessary to appoint independent Supervisors whose researches alone could enable the authorities to formulate their future plan of reform. It was further hoped that the appointment of the Supervisors would not only lead to the destruction and prevention of all trade monopolies, but would also promote the growth of the general trade of the country and the prosperity and happiness of the common people. The Supervisors were also meant to be a "nursery" for trained officials, capable of succeeding, when called upon to do so, to the highest offices in the Government.

The circumstances that finally led to the adoption of the scheme may now be briefly analysed. It was Mr. Sykes, the first Resident at the Durbar who had originally stressed the utility of appointing English gentlemen as a check[36] on the collections in the Diwani lands. His succesor, Mr. Becher, was more emphatic in his denunciation of the malpractices of the Indian collectors and pressed[37] for the application of the plan "now practised at Burdwan" to the whole of the province. In July, 1769, the Select Committee considered the problem in all its aspects, and, in August, after considering the joint letter of the Governor and Mr. Becher, together with their separate opinions on the miserable state of affairs obtaining in the country, came to the conclusion,[38] "That, in every province or district, a gentleman in the service be appointed with or without assistance, in proportion to the extent of the district, whose office or department is to be subordinate to the Resident of the Durbar, and managed as is expressly set forth and defined in the following letter of instructions which the President has prepared and submitted to our consideration with such additions as may occasionally be deemed necessary by the Resident at the Durbar". This decision, it may be noted, was taken by the Committee on the basis of "an equivocal permission" given by the Directors in one of their recent letters.[39] The letter in question carried the Directors' approval of the plan adopted for the revenue administration of the Ceded lands, and, as such, was not unjustifiably interpreted as an implied sanction for the extension of the said plan to the Diwani lands. The Select Committee's action was later fully approved by the Directors.

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[36] Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 4, 1769.

[37] Bengal Select Committee, July 8, 1769.

To be continued.

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[38] Bengal Select Committee, Aug. 16, 1769.
[39] Letter from Court, Nov. 11, 1768.

Gayā-Tīrtha

BY

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The antiquity of the Gayā-tīrtha has been the subject of controversy for a long time.[1] Very recently, Mr. Y. Mishra has published a paper entitled "Bihar in the Agni-Purāṇa" in *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part I, 1954, pp. 1-7, where the problem has been referred to without a discussion of the views of earlier writers. In the concluding part of the said paper, the author draws our attention to the well-known stanza :

Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kañchī Avantikā |
purī Dvāravatī ch=aiva sapt=aitā moksha-dāyikāḥ ||

and observes, "This couplet was composed probably in the eighth century A.D., and, from the absence of any mention of Gayā, it appears that any importance it may have had then was only local and that it did not acquire a pan-Indian celebrity before this time. This is strengthened by the fact that while in (of?) the Gupta period there is only one inscription found at Gayā, in (of?) the Pāla period (c. 750—c. 1200) no less than six inscriptions are found here. These things evidently point to the growing importance of Gayā in the period subsequent to 750 A.D., i.e., in the period of the Agni-Purāṇa." I am sorry that I cannot agree with the author's contentions.

In the first place, it is not possible to assign the text of a Purāṇa as a whole, in all cases, to a definite date because it usually contains matter interpolated by various redactors in different ages. Moreover, the incorporation of a tradition in a work at a particular date does not prove that it was non-existent in an earlier age. It is therefore impossible to determine the antiquity of Gayā from its mention in the *Agni Purāṇa* alone.

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[1] Cf. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha-Gayā*, 1878; Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, 1892; O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Gaya District* (also his article in *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, No. 3, pp. 1-11); B. M. Barua's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vols. I-II, 1934; J. C. Ghosh's article in *JBORS*, Vol. XXIV, 1938, pp. 89-111; P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, 1953, pp. 642-79.

Secondly, the date of the composition of the stanza *Ayodhyā,* etc., quoted above, is uncertain. But a theory based on the absence of Gayā in it seems to be merely a case of *argumentum ex silentio.* It is certainly impossible to believe that Prabhāsa, Pushkara and Prayāga, which are not mentioned in the verse, attained all-India importance after the seventh century. The pilgrimage of a ruler of the North Marāṭhā country to Prabhāsa and Pushkara is mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D.[2] while Prayāga is not only referred to in a Khila verse placed in the *Rigveda,* X, 75, but is also mentioned in an inscription[3] as a holy place where a sixth century king of East Malwa committed religious suicide according to the injunction of the Dharmaśāstra writers. There is absolutely no doubt that these three *tīrthas,* not represented in the stanza relied on by Mr. Mishra, became widely known many centuries earlier than the eighth century when the said verse is supposed to have been composed. The verse is found with some modifications once in the *Brahmāṇḍa* (IV, 40, 91) and *Garuḍa* (Pretakhaṇḍa, 38, 5-6) *Purāṇas* and twice in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (6, 68 and 23, 7) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa.*[4] There is hardly any doubt that the date of its composition is later than that of a traditional stanza regarding the sanctity of Gayā, which is found in the epics as well as in most of the Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra works. But this is not the only evidence to show that Gayā was already one of the most famous Indian *tīrthas* long before the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century.

The *Mahābhārata* is believed to have assumed its present form between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.,[5] while the *Rāmāyaṇa* is supposed to have had its present extent and contents as early as the second century A.D.[6] The Tīrtha-yātrā section of the Vana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* contains two sub-sections on Gayā,[7] which point to the place as a great *tīrtha.* But what is more important is that both these sub-sections have one stanza in common, which is introduced in one case by the passage *kīrtayanti purātanāḥ*[8] showing that it was an old Gāthā handed down by tradition. The stanza runs as follows:

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[2] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 160 ff.

[3] *Corp. Ins. Ind.,* Vol. III, p. 200.

[4] See N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary,* p. 179; Kane, *op. cit.,* p. 678, note 1535.

[5] Cf. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 258; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I, p. 465.

[6] Winternitz, *op. cit.,* p. 516.

> *eshṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady=apy=eko Gayāṁ vrajet |*
> *yajeta v=Āśvamedhena nīlaṁ vā vṛisham=utsṛijet ||*

That it was an old traditional Gāthā is also clearly demonstrated by the fact that the same verse is quoted sometimes with slight modifications (not affecting the reference to Gayā), again in the Anuśāsanika-parvan (Ch. 88, 14) and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 107, 13) as well as in numerous Purāṇas (cf. *Matsya,* 22, 6; *Vāyu,* 105, 10; *Kūrma,* II, 34, 13; *Brahma,* 220, 32; *Padma, Sṛishṭi-khaṇḍa,* 11, 65 or 68 and Ādikhaṇḍa, 38, 17; *Nāradīya,* Uttara-khaṇḍa, 44, 5-6; etc.) and Dharmasāstra works (cf. *Vishṇusaṁhitā,* 85, 63; *Atrisaṁhitā,* verse 55; *Bṛihaspatisaṁhitā,* verse 21; *Likhita-saṁhitā,* verse 10; etc.). In many of these works the verse is introduced as a Gāthā sung by the Pitṛis or Ṛishis. There cannot be any doubt that this Gāthā was composed many centuries before the Pāla age and probably even before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.

The *Mahābhārata,* III, 95, describes how, at Brahmasaras (within Gayā), *Rājarshi* Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas, performed many sacrifices distinguished by "hundreds of mountains of food and thousands of lakes of clarified butter, many hundred rivers of curds, and streams of curries in thousand" and how people in all lands used to sing Gāthās on the subject. Elsewhere the same work (VII, 64) speaks of Gaya's sacrificial altar of solid gold that was 30 *yojanas* long, 26 *yojanas* broad and 24 *yojanas* high and how, upon the completion of the sacrifice, 25 hills of food remained over together with many lakes and rivulets of savoury drinks. In consequence of this glorious performance, Brahmasaras and the "eternal-making banyan-tree" (i.e. the Akshaya Vaṭa) at the place are stated to have become famous throughout the three worlds.[9]

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[7] Calcutta ed., ch. 84, verses 82-98; ch. 87, verses 8-12.

[8] Cf. critical ed, III, 85, 7.

[9] See also S. Sörenson, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata,* pp. 302-03.

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The same saintly king named Gaya is also known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 107), *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V, ch. 15), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (ch 34), *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 107), *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (IV, ch. 11), *Vāmana Purāṇa* (ch. 76), etc., although his parentage is sometimes given differently. The antiquity of the tradition is definitely proved by Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* (XII, 87-88) composed in the first or second century A.D. during the age of the Kushāṇas. This work speaks of Buddha's visit to the hermitage called the city of the royal sage Gaya. The same person was later conceived as a great giant; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* ch. 105 ff., etc. The demon's body is said to have been 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth. It will be seen that, while the 25 hills of the *Mahābhārata* story were imagined to explain the existence of sacred hills in the Gayā area, the huge body of the demon was conceived as the hilly region, studded with holy spots, extending from Gayā to the coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal. Gaya's head was believed to be represented by Gayaśiras or Gayaśīrsha (Gayāśiras or Gayāśīrsha) at Gayā while Virajā or Jājpur in the Cuttack District of Orissa and Pithapuram in the Godavari District of Andhra were taken to represent respectively his navel and feet.[10] The frequent mention of the shaking of the earth in this connection in the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* ch. 106, possibly hints at earthquakes that occasionally depopulated Gayā.[11]

It may be noticed in this connection that the *Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā,* which does not specially deal with *tīrtha-māhātmya,* also recognises the greatness and sanctity of Gayā (Āchārādhyāya, verse 261):

> *yad=dadāti Gayāsthaś=cha sarvam=ānantyam=aśnute* |
> *tathā varshā-trayodaśyāṁ maghāsu cha viśēshataḥ* ||

The code of Yājñavalkya has to be assigned to the fourth century A.D.[12] although some scholars are inclined to ascribe it to "the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier".[13]

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[10] N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary,* pp. 64-5.

[11] Cf. the deserted appearance of the holy place referred to by the Chinese pilgrims.

[12] Cf. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 279.

[13] Kane, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 187.

That Gayā was a famous place of pilgrimage during the Gupta age is also clear from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hian visited the place about the beginning of the fifth century when the locality offered a rather deserted appearance.[14] According to Hiuen-tsang, who visited Gayā about 637 A.D., "This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were about 1000 Brahmin families, descendants of the original Ṛishi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence.... From ancient times, sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain (the Gayā mountain to the south-west of the city) and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone tope (stūpa) above 100 feet high built by Aśoka at the place where Buddha uttered the Pao-yun and other Sūtras".[15] The Pao-yun has been taken to be the *Ratnagarbha Sūtra* said to have been communicated to the disciples of Buddha, assembled on the Gayaśiras or Gayaśīrsha (Gayāśiras or Gayāśīrsha) hill, identified by many scholars with the modern Brahmayoni hill near Gayā. The objections to this identification and to the location of ancient Gayā at the site of the present city of that name are not quite convincing. Moreover those who object do not say that the ancient Gayā *tīrtha* lay far away from present Gayā in a region outside Bihar. The Brāhmaṇas of Gayā referred to in the Chinese account are no doubt the ancestors of the celebrated Gayāla Brahmaṇas of today. These Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in the Śaktipur copper-plate inscription[16] of king Lakshmaṇasena (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. They appear to have claimed descent from *Rājarshi* Gaya. Hiuen-tsang's observations show beyond doubt that Gayā was already a famous holy place long before the seventh century if not actually in the age of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 269-232 B.C.). But there is evidence to show that Gayā is a much older *tīrtha*.

Gaya as a personal name, with which the holy place called Gaya or Gayā (cf. also Gayaśiras or Gayā° and Gayasīrsha or

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[14] Cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, translated by James Legge, pp. 87 ff.

[15] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 110-11.

[16] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 216 ff.

Gayā°) is intimately associated, is well known from the *Ṛigveda*[17] and *Atharvaveda*.[18] The unanimous testimony of the Puranic writers and medieval lexicographers suggests that the Gayā region was known to the Ṛgvedic seers as Kīkaṭa.[19] Although pilgrimage to holy places for the sake of merit seems to be a non-Aryan religious institution which took some time is being fully approved by the Brahmanical society, the importance of the holy hill called Gayaśiras at Gayā appears to have been recognised in very early times. This is suggested by Yāska's *Nirukta* (12, 19) which, while explaining the Vedic passage *tredhā nidadhe padam,* quotes the view of an earlier authority named Aurṇavābha saying that Vishṇu plants his foot at Samārobhaṇa, Vishṇupada and Gayaśiras. These were evidently three holy spots. Since, in the whole of India, there is only one Gayaśiras or Gayaśīrsha (Gayāśiras or Gayāśīrsha) near Gayā in Bihar, the tradition attributed to Aurṇavābha by Yāska who is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C.[21] certainly points to the antiquity of Gayā as a recognised holy place. The conclusion is supported by the frequent mention of the holy spots at Gayā and its neighbourhood in early Buddhist literature.

The earliest literary works of the Buddhists very often mention Gayā (also Gayātīrtha, Gayā-śīrsha, Gayā-nadī and Gayā-pushkariṇī) as well as a festival held there and called Gayā-phalgu or Gayā-phalgunī. See the *Vinayapiṭaka,*[22] *Saṁyutta Nikāya,*[23] *Aṅguttara Nikāya,*[24] *Sutta Nipāta,*[25] etc. All these works are to be assigned to dates before the beginning of the Christian era. The Buddha is stated to have stayed at Gayā on several occasions. It was at Gayāśīrsha that the well-known Gayā Sūtra was preached by him.[26] The evidence of the Buddhist works of the Gupta age supports what has already been said above on the strength of Brahmanical literature. Buddhaghosha (5th century) applies the name Gayā both to a locality and a bathing place near it; but Dharmapāla (circa 6th century)[27] in his Udāna commentary[28] mentions Gayā-nadī and Gayā-pushkariṇī as two distinct bathing places both known as Gayā-tīrtha and supposed to possess the power to wash away sins. "People went there, offered sacrifices to the gods, recited the Vedas, and immersed themselves in the water."[29] In Buddhist literature Gayā is sometimes called Brahma-Gayā (cf. the name of old Brahmasaras and of modern Brahmayoni at Gayā) to avoid its confusion with Buddha-Gayā.

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[17] V. 9, 1; X, 63, 1 and 64, 1.

[18] I, 14, 4.

[19] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* pp. 17-19.

[20] *Ṛigveda,* I, 22, 17.

[21] Winternitz, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 69, note.

[22] Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. I, pp. 8, 34.

[23] P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 207.

[24] P.T.S., Vol. IV, p. 302.

[25] P.T.S., p. 47.

[26] Cf. *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* Vol. IV, pp. 302 ff.; *Mahāvagga,* I, 21, 1 (S.B.E., Vol. XIII, p. 134).

The facts discussed above do not appear to support Mr. Mishra's contention that Gayā became an all-India *tīrtha* during the age of Pālas (circa 750-1200 A.D.).

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[27] Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 205.

[28] P.T.S., pp. 74-75; cf. *Sutta Nipāta* commentary, P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 301.

[29] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,* Vol. I, p. 752.

Origin of Indian Epigraphy *

BY

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1. The origin of Indian Epigraphy is veiled in obscurity. The earliest epigraphical records found in India are the small Indus Valley seals generally assigned to the third millenium B.C. But the script on the seals cannot be deciphered. The earliest decipherable records found are therefore, practically the edicts of Aśoka which are written in the Brāhmi and Kharoshtri scripts and belong to the third century B.C. The Kharoshtri script continued to be used upto the fifth century A.D. in particular localities and altogether disappeared leaving no descendant. But from this time to the present day there is fortunately a continuous record of the Brahmi epigraphical records in India . Since no epigraphical records are found of the intervening long period of more than two

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thousand years, many scholars, who have traced the history of writing in other countries with the help of the Epigraphy of those countries, suppose that the ancient Hindus were ignorant of the art of writing. People of other ancient countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, etc., who knew the art of writing have left a large number of inscriptions on stone and metal, on clay and wooden tablets. Chronology of those countries rests on a safer basis than that of India so there cannot be any doubt about their inscriptions being thousands of years old. If the ancient Indians had known the art of writing they would have also left some ancient inscriptions. Allowing five hundred years for the evolution of the Brāhmi script as we find it in the edicts of Aśoka and taking into consideration all the references to writing in the travel records of earlier foreigners and in the most ancient literatures of the Aryans who according to them could not have entered India before 1500 B.C. these scholars have come to the conclusion that the Indians learned the use of writing in about 800 B.C. from the Semitic people in Western Asia with whom they had then come in commercial contact (Indian Paleography by G. Bühler). If this theory is accepted we have to suppose that Indian Epigraphy originated sometime after the 8th century B.C. But with the recent discovery of a large number of inscribed Indus Valley seals of a very remote period in India itself the question of the foreign origin of the Indian script at the late period altogether disappears and the origin of Indian Epigraphy can at once be carried back from the Buddhist period to the Indus Valley period. But the unfortunate thing is that the Indus Valley script cannot be deciphered as yet and the still more unfortunate thing is that no epigraphical material is found of the intervening long period of two thousand years between the Indus Valley period and the Maurya period from which it begins to appear regularly. Consequently the question of the origin of the Indian script is still unsettled and there are scholars who are not prepared to give up the foreign origin (Diringer, The Alphabet p. 328). Let us first see if the theory of the Semitic origin of the Indian script can stand.

2. In the first place the absence of epigraphical records does not mean that the ancient Hindus were ignorant of the art of writing. In fact by ascribing the invention of writing to the creator

Brahmā they claim it as a national invention of the remotest antiquity. But this point does not carry much weight since attribution of the invention of the alphabet to mythical personages is found in many peoples' traditions. As the question of the origin of Epigraphy is linked up with that of Writing let us see whether the ancient Hindus were really ignorant of the art of writing and whether they borrowed the art from the Semitic people.

R. B. Gaurishankar Oza refuted the theory of foreign origin of the Brāhmi script by quoting older references to writing in the ancient Brahmanical literature from the epics back to the Vedas and showed that it was already known to the ancient Hindus thousands of years back and that there was, therefore, no question of borrowing it from outsiders at a later date of their civilization (Indian Paleography, ch. I.)

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who was also convinced of the indigenous origin of the Brāhmi script thought it unnecessary to seek support from the post-Vedic literature when he could quote references to writing in the Vedic literature itself in which two of the principal features of writing namely numerical notations and alphabet are discussed in detail. (Origin of the Indian alphabet Proc. Ori. Conf. I, ii, 305, Ashutosh Mookerji, Vol. III, p. 493).

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal approached this question in a third way. It is according to him an impossibility to make the *maṇḍala* division of the Vedas, i.e., division by authors, division by length, etc., without having a system of writing. The very idea of classifying songs could occur to no one when they are known only orally and the art of writing is unknown. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that at the time of the Vedic division the art of writing must have existed. Nor could we have commentaries on the Brāhmaṇas without the art of writing (J.B.O.R.S., VI. 188).

Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala has discussed this question in detail and refuted all the arguments which are advanced in favour of the theory of foreign origin of the Indian Writing from Greek or Phonician models or from North Semitic or South Semitic models. He has also disproved the arguments brought against the theory of indigenous origin of the script and has shown that the only alternative is to suppose that the Brāhmī script is of indigenous origin. He has also shown that the Brāhmī script contains groups of letters arranged exactly as one may expect from the precise phonetic analysis of Sanskrit, made in the Prātiśākhya of the Veda many centuries before the date of Aśoka and that a people who could produce such masterly analysis of their language about 1000 B.C., the latest date of the Prātiśākhya, had no reason to borrow the symbols from the Semitic script for the same sounds several centuries later from the Semitic people whose script was so imperfect. (The origin of the Brāhmi alphabet, Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, p. 625).

3. To all these proofs of writing of the ancient Hindus one more from the Vedic literature itself can be added which is so convincing that it will silence all doubts about the point. It shows that the Vedic Aryans not only knew the art of writing but had also preserved Vedic manuscripts carefully. The concluding verse constituting Sūtra No. 72 of the 19th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda contains the following expression:

"I now keep down the Veda (or I now keep it) in the box from which I had taken it out."

The Sūtra means that the Vedic manuscript which was taken out for recitation or for copying another manuscript was placed back in the box or bundle carefully. This fact shows that manuscripts of the Vedas did exist in the Vedic times and were carefully preserved. As this verse is at the end of the Kāṇḍa in the form of a post-script it seems to have been uttered at the end of the day's work when the manuscript was packed and was to be kept back in the box. It may be supposed that this kind of verse might have been uttered at the end of other Kāṇḍas but no where else it is found used.*

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* It may be suggested here that the name Tripiṭaka given for the three most important sacred books of the Buddhists might have been inspired by the practice of the Vedic people to keep the manuscripts of the three main Vedas in boxes. It is known that sometimes an object receives the name of the object contained in it, e.g., in such expression as "He drank a bottle" meaning that he drank the liquid in the bottle or as "One tiffin box is insufficient to me" meaning that the food contained in one tiffin box is

In fact those who knew something of the Vedic Aryans from their vast and beautiful Vedic literature ought not to have entertained a doubt about their knowledge of the art of writing. It is inconceivable that the people who were long engaged in various cultural and literary activities did not know how to write and did not feel the necessity of the art. Either it must be supposed that the Vedic Aryans were uncivilised savages or if they were a civilised people, it must be supposed that they did know the art of writing. For as a linguist has said, writing exists only in a civilisation and a civilisation cannot exist without writing. The interrelation between speech and writing and their mutual influences are very strong. It is frequently difficult to study a speech without knowledge of its writing and it is almost impossible to understand a writing without knowledge of the speech for which it is used. (A Study of Writing by J. J. Gelb, London, 1951, p. 222).

Thus if the Vedic Aryans knew the art of writing already about 1500 B.C. there was no question of borrowing it from outside, in about 800 B.C.

Leaving aside the question when the Aryans entered India from outside, there is sufficient evidence to show that the Indians had come in contact with the people of western Asia long before 800 B.C. If the theory of westward migration of the Indo-Iranians from their common home maintained by some scholars is accepted on the ground that the Aryan names are recognisable in the case of the Kassites who ruled Babylon from about 1760 B.C. and that the names of the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyas are mentioned in records of treaties discovered at Bogaz-koi in Cappadocia between the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiuaza of about 1450 B.C. the question of borrowing the art of writing in 800 B.C. from the less civilized Semitic people cannot arise. (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vedic Age,

insufficient to me. In the same way the three sacred books of the Buddhists which were like the three Vedas of the Hindus and which according to the old practice of the Brahmaṇas were kept inside the boxes came to be named as three boxes—tripiṭakas. It is well known that the Buddha when he referred to the Vedas meant the three Vedas only as the Buddhists regard the Atharvaveda as of less authority and he is himself described as Tevijja meaning learned in the three Vedas.

p. 204). See also Sayce, the Early Home of Sanskrit, Asia Minor Modi Mem. Vol. p. 68.

4. Now the question arises if the ancient Aryans knew the art of writing why then are no epigraphic records found anywhere in India before the Maurya period, i.e., before the fourth century B.C.? The following reasons can be given in reply to this question.

All literature was committed to memory by the ancient Aryans and the marvellous, indeed the astounding, feats of memory were performed by those who made it their business to commit to memory a library of religious and philosophical literature. As an aid to memory this was consequently put in verse. This practice, it is well known, has been continued to some extent even to this day with rare rigidity by the Brahmans. To keep the sanctity of their sacred texts, the Buddhists and the Jains too, had adopted this method. So the fact that reciting was preferred to reading is not a proof of the absence of the art of writing. Owing to this exceptional quality the ancient Aryans took less interest in writing and still less in epigraphy. No other people in the world had cultivated this art of oral transmission and consequently they had no other course but to write down what they thought to be important.

Another reason why epigraphical records are not found is this. The epigraphical records are mainly of three kinds: Donative, Commemorative and Eulogistic, i.e., they relate to the land grants or to the building of temples or wells or are composed in praise of the achievements or qualities of kings. This object was accomplished by the Vedic Aryans by composing hymns in praise of the kings for their military achievements, for performing Vedic sacrifices and giving rich donations to the priests and for doing acts of public utility. These hymns called *dānastutis* were incorporated in the Vedic texts, and with additions made from time to time they were recited among assemblies on important occasions (Ojha Comm. Vol., p. 34 and A.B.O.R.I. 28. 36) The Vedic Aryans could accomplish by composing hymns, what the later people in India or the people in other countries wanted to accomplish by inscriptions.

When absence of epigraphical records is brought forward as the proof of ignorance of the art of writing of the ancient Aryans it may be equally asked, if the Indus Valley people knew the art of writing and if they had received a regular training in Epigraphy why then are only small seals of a stereotyped form which might have served the purpose of the creed formula or Dharani tablets of the Buddhists of the later period found with them in hundreds and not a single inscription in the proper sense of the term on a stone slab or on a copper plate or on the pedestal of an image is found when all these objects were not unknown to them and when many lengthy inscriptions are found of the period in other West Asian countries like Sumer and Babylonia? We cannot suppose that though the Indus Valley people did not set up long inscriptions they might not have written long letters or notes to conduct the necessary usual business of their highly civilized society. We have to suppose that they must have written them on some fragile material which is completely lost to us.

But it is not true that the Vedic Aryans had never recourse to writing. The Vedas, Brāmaṇas and Upanishads were no doubt transmitted from generation to generation by oral recitations and the Sūtras comprising very short neumonic formulae were purposely composed for oral transmission and for facility in remembering. But there must be a limit to human memory however prodigious. For literary works of some length and grammatical and specially phonetical works, need of writing and of some symbols must have been felt. For copying such works the Aryans must have used the *bhūrajapatras* or *tāḍapatras* or *Kārpāśa paṭṭikās,* or *Valkala paṭṭikās,* which were abundant in India. (Ancient India by I. W. M'Crindle, 1896, p. 186). The use of cloth for writing goes back to the fourth century B.C. being mentioned by Nearchos, in the service of Alexander (Strabo, 15.1.67). No manuscripts on such a material can be expected to endure to a long time in spite of all precautions of preserving them in boxes as shown above. In course of time such frail material must have perished. There is reason to believe that not only a vast literature but even some parts of the Vedic texts in spite of the attempts to commit them to memory were lost. The well-known pre-Buddhist grammarian Yāska refers to a number of works and authors known to him. (Keith, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 423). Vedic literature was available to Pāṇini even in Mss. (Goldstucker Pāṇini, pp. 11-47). Pāṇini hints at the use of writing in several significant expressions (Agarwal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 371). Yāska is clearly seen to have consulted some *pada-pāṭhas* of older scholars like those of Śākalya in recording the different interpretations of the Vedic stanzas. From the use of the *gaṇapāṭhas* and *dhātupāṭhas* in Pāṇini we have reason to believe that there was a vast Sanskrit literature in different branches of learning before the time of Pāṇini who can be definitely assigned to the 5th century B.C. if not to the 8th century B.C. as is often supposed (Agarwal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 473). All this literature could not have been committed to memory but must have been written down on some kind of material before the period when the art of writing is supposed to have been borrowed by the Indians from the Semitic people. There must have been learned men of all kinds and not merely those reciting the Vedas and performing the Vedic sacrifices. A pre-Aśokan writer on political science, Kauṭalya, mentions many works and calls his work to be a critical compendium. All these works not known now must have perished. The fact that manuscript copies of some of the literature are available to us shows that the work of preparing new manuscript copies from older ones, must have been continued from generation to generation. Even the Vedic manuscripts which we have now must have been copied and re-copied in ancient times and could not have been prepared in modern times by making a Vedic scholar sit down and recite the Vedic texts.

5. Having seen that the Vedic Aryans knew the art of writing, that they did write manuscripts from time to time and that they were not in a particular need of issuing inscriptions let us now see whether there was any relation between the Indus Valley civilisation and the Vedic civilization, secondly between the Indus Valley antiquities of an unknown date and the earliest antiquities of a known date of the people of the Mauryan period who were the direct heirs of the Vedic civilization and thirdly between the earliest Indian, though undeciphered, script of the Indus Valley of the third or second millenium B.C. and the decipherable script of the Mauryan period of the fourth century B.C.

With regard to the first point it may be said that Dr. Wheeler correlates the Indus Valley chronology with the age of the Vedas. He has produced Archaeological evidence in support of a hypothesis that, Indra, the Aryan war-god, Purandara or fort-destroyer who is said to have demolished the hundred ancient castles of the aboriginal leader Śambara, must have been responsible for the destruction of the Indus Valley Civilization (Ancient India, No. 3, p. 82). Similarly while referring to an Indus Valley seal which represents in its lower register seven figures in a row Wijesekara suggests that they are symbolic representation of the Ṛigvedic river goddesses and that the whole seal represents the fertility cult common to the Indus Valley and the Vedic civilizations (C. K. Raja, Comm. Vol., p. 428): Similarly similarity between the funeral rites and customs of the Indus Valley people and the Vedic people as shown by Shri M. S. Vatsa (Excavations at Harappa p. 209) and by Dr. Altekar (A.B.O.R.I., Vol. 21 (1941), p. 291) gives support to this supposition. Some more scholars have similarly shown connection between the two civilizations.

With regard to the second point it may be said that actually some antiquities have been found from Mauryan sites which show wonderful family likeness with the Indus Valley antiquities. For instance some of the antiquities found at Kasaravad near Mahesvar in the Narmada Valley which are of a peculiar nature are very much like some of the antiquities found in the Indus Valley. (Diskalkar, I. H.Q., 1949, p. 17). The triangular pottery tablets found in the Indus Valley are of different sizes and so are Kasaravad tablets. The use of these peculiar objects is still a puzzle. Sir John Marshall thinks that the Indus Valley tablets might be votive offerings or intended for burial use. (Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Marshall, p. 480, pl. CXXXI, 56-59. Further excavations at Mohenjodaro by Mackay, p. 429). The Kasaravad tablets found buried in the Buddhist Stupas might have served the same purpose. Similarly pottery pieces of different shapes, the purpose of which is not known are found in the Indus Valley as well as at Kasaravad and in some other Mauryan sites. Perforated pottery pieces are found in the Indus Valley as also at Kasaravad, and other Mauryan sites. They are supposed to be heaters. (Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization by Marshall, p. 313 and Further excavations at Mohenjodaro by Mackay, p. 207) but it seems more likely that the perforated pots served the purpose of jars through the 'thousand' holes of which water was sprinkled on bone relics according to the Vedic rites e.g. the Atharvaveda, (18.4.36) as shown by Ramanprasad Chanda. (Indus Valley in the Vedic period, Archl.

Mem. No. 31, p. 11, 14). Similarly pottery cones, the purpose of which is not known and some other objects which bear some likeness are found in both the places. A comparative study of the antiquities excavated from all the Mauryan sites with those from the Indus Valley will bring out many more similarities. If this supposition is correct it further proves the relation between the two civilizations (see also Archl. Mem. No. 41, Survival of the pre-historic civilization of the Indus Valley). It may also be said here that the peculiar figures of Yogis in the Indus Valley, with *ūrdhvalinga* and contemplative attitude seem to anticipate the Lakulīsa-pāśapata sculptures of the later period in Indian religious history, the antiquity of which can be traced back definitely at least to the beginning of the Christian era. (D. R. Bhandarkar, J.B.B.R.A.S., 22.157 and Ep. Ind. 21.7). For other survivals of the Indus Valley civilization like the punchmarked coins see The Vedic Age, p.197.

But there is no wonder at finding the two civilizations related to each other and at finding likeness between the antiquities of both the periods if we realise that at the destruction of their civilization the Indus Valley people could not all have sailed away from India but must have walked as refugees to the east which was not arid as now but was rich and prosperous and must have been assimilated in the great Indian society and continued to keep some of their deeprooted beliefs and customs. The recent discovery at Ruper and other places in east Punjab of the Harappa deposits successively overlain by those bearing painted grey ware objects and of the Mauryan age supports the view and connects the Mauryan culture with the Harappa culture only through the painted grey ware culture. The occurrence of the Harappa culture as far east as Rūpar is significant in itself, but more important is the fact that that culture was found superimposed by the painted grey ware culture thus providing direct means for linking up the former with later culture. (A. Ghosh, Pres. Add. Archl. Sec. Ahmedabad Ori. Conf. p. 3).

This fact raises a doubt that the groups of antiquities of the Indus Valley period and the Mauryan period so closely resembling each other may not be so widely separated in time as has been supposed. It must not be supposed, as Dr. Coomaraswamy has said in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* that a complete hiatus divides the early period from the later times. A part of the remains at Mohenjodaro probably dates between 1000 and 400 B.C. and on the other hand the minor antiquities from various Indian sites as at Basrah, Taxila, Pataliputra and South Indian pre-historic sites go back at least to the fifth century B.C. Cannot therefore the date of the Indus Valley antiquities be brought down? In fact Mackay had already thought that the Indus Valley antiquities cannot be so old as Sir John Marshall and the first pioneers guessed. Dr. Fabri had felt the same doubt. (Indian Culture III. 670-72). If therefore, the entire chronology of Western Asian prehistory is revised we can bring the Indus Valley civilization somewhat nearer to our own.

With regard to the third point it can be said that having seen the relation between the Indus Valley civilization and that of the early historical period and having also seen the family likeness between the Archaeological exhibits of the Indus Valley period and the Maurya period it is not impossible to detect a continuity of writing from the Indus Valley period onwards. We may not be able to decipher the Indus Valley script at present but if by an external examination of the signs it is shown that some of the signs at least in the Indus script bear resemblance with some characters of the Brahmi script, we may be able to say that the later script was derived from the earlier one or both of them were derived from a third script. With only one or two Harappa seals before him Cunningham with the instinct of a true Palæographist detected similarity between the Harappa script and the Brāhmi script and suggested seventy-nine years ago that the Harappa script contained the origin of Brāhmī. Following Cunningham, Dowson and Lassen held that the Aryan priests had developed the Brāhmī script from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics. Bühler had objected to this theory on the ground that it presupposes the existence of Indian hieroglyphic pictures which were not then found. (Cunningham Archl. Rep. V, (1875) p. 33, pl. 1; his edicts of Aśoka, pl. 28 and I.A. 1886, p. 1). Dr. Fleet supported Cunningham (J.R. A.S. 1912, p. 699). Dr. K. P. Jayaswal further supported him (I.A. 1913, p. 203 and J.B.O.R.S. 1920, p. 198). But the arguments of these scholars had no effect upon the minds of the Epigraphists of the time. The discovery of a vast material of the same kind now in and outside India has naturally attracted the attention of scholars all over the world. Now that the Indian hieroglyphics have been found in the Indus Valley Bühler's objection is removed.

Dr. Hunter after tabulating every occurrence of each sign appearing on this vast material has shown how the Brāhmi alphabet can be derived from the Indus script. He has found that strokes are applied to certain symbols in the Indus script on exactly the same principles as in the Brahmi script and with the same effect. Dr. Hunter also thinks that those scholars were not mistaken who connected Brāhmi with the South Semitic and Phonecian scripts because there is much evidence to show that those scripts also were derived from the script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro which may be called the Proto-Indian script. The Proto-Indian forms are in fact an important link in the history of the constitution of the alphabet from pictographic writing. (*The script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other scripts* by G. P. Hunter. Introduction by S. Langdon, 1934).

Dr. Hunter's theory has been accepted by Prof. Langdon, Hutton and many other scholars. It deserves to be accepted though the likeness of the signs belonging to the two systems cannot yet be shown to correspond with the identity of their phonetic values. (Diringer, The Alphabet, p. 329).

6. The only objection to this theory of tracing the origin of Indian Epigraphy to the Indus Valley script is that it was not kept alive during the intervening period of 2,000 years. Although it is not easy to fill up the lacunæ and meet the objection it can be said that the possibility of connection between the two scripts cannot be rejected categorically. The pre-historic cairn pottery dug out at Rajgir and Dornekal in the Hyderabad State and in several places in the Madura, Tinnevelli, Bellary, Anantapur, N. Arcot, S. Arcot, Vellore, Chingleput, Nilgiris, Salem and Coimbatore Districts in Southern India contain some marks which are certainly letters of some sort and which seem to be the fore-runners of the Brāhmi characters. (E. H. Hunter in Journ. Hyderabad Archl. Soc., July 1916, p. 183, Ann. Rep., Hyderabad A. S., 1915-16, p. 1933; Yazdani, the same Report for 1916-17, p. 5). At least five of the marks are almost identical with those in the Brāhmi script. Similarly in these symbols, we see signs for expressing medial vowels as in Brāhmi

on one hand and in the Indus script on the other. The pottery pieces cannot be later than 1500 B.C. as they were associated with megalithic structures. It may also be pointed out that some signs like *ḍamaru,* star, cross, etc., are found in prehistoric rock carvings on the Gombiguddai hill near Jamkhindi. (A.R. Kannad, R. I. Dharwar 1939-40, p. 21, pl. 3). Secondly, the Vikramakhol (Rewa State N. I.) inscription assignable to 1500 B.C. also contains signs which are similar to those in the Indus script and in the Brāhmi script. According to Dr. Jayaswal this inscription whose characteristics seem to be those of the Brāhmi script supplies a link between the passage of letter forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brāhmi. (I. A. 1933, p. 60 Pres. Add. Seventh Ori. Conf. p. 4). Dr. G. Piccoli also thinks that the Mohenjodaro script contains signs in common with the Vikramakhol inscription. (I. A. 1933, p. 214). Some unknown rock carvings are found at Mansar near Ramtek. The presumption is that in these we have an example of writing of the folks who lived in M.P. before the Aryans. (J.B.O.R.S., 11.20.10.) Thus although the evidence of connection between the three scripts is extremely slender we have reason to believe that there was a sort of continuity in epigraphical traditions of the country. Since the Indus Valley records are the earliest, we can say that Indian Epigraphy originated in the Indus Valley period. Since a number of marked pottery pieces bearing a somewhat similar script are found in Southern India it is not impossible that similar finds may some day be discovered in future excavations in North India and the gap between 1500 B.C. and 400 B.C. may be filled. Under the present circumstances we can say that apathies of the people responsible for issuing inscriptions and destruction of those issued at times by the ravages of nature like floods, earthquakes, etc., might explain the absence of epigraphical records of the intervening period between the Indus Valley period and the Mauryan period.

7. Things continued to be in this way till the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. which seems to be specially responsible for the revival of Indian Epigraphy. Before the rise of Buddhism it was the specially trained Brahmin priest class alone who could do all the rites of religion for the welfare of their own and of all other classes who maintained them. Buddhism enjoined anybody and everybody to do pious deeds so that he may attain *nirvāṇa*

himself and bring welfare to all beings and not to depend upon the priest class for that. In Buddhism nobody because of his birth was prevented from becoming a monk or a nun. The kind of preaching infused in the masses a sense of self-elevation and facilitated their contact with the classes for religious purposes. In the orthodox system no one particular personality however religiously great was to be worshipped. Buddhism created a mentality of devotion to Buddha and his followers and of implicit faith in their words. The movement of devotion was spread among the masses. It attracted the casteless foreign immigrants to India so much that they left every thing of their old faith and flocked under the Buddhist standard. The religious discourses had, therefore, to be written down in the simple language of the people, and the age-long importance of Sanskrit for religious writings was intentionally ignored. The ordinary people could not commit to memory even those simple injunctions of religion as the Vedic Brahmins could do and thus began the free use of writing. From what we know of the Indian Society in the time of Buddha (558-478 B.C.), we feel no doubt that the people did as a general rule make use of written correspondence. In fact the Buddhist texts contain allusions to correspondence of letters in the time of Buddha. The new teachings of the Buddha with their popular appeal have long been recognised as the potent cause of the development of the languages of the people. Buddhist monks and nuns carried far and wide the gospel of the Enlightened One. There is no doubt that while the knowledge of writing may have favoured the diffusion of Jainism and Buddhism, these two religions, and especially the latter, contributed much to the diffusion of the knowledge of writing. (Diringer, The Alphabet, p. 334). The scope of Epigraphy was considerably widened.

Another thing is this. The Vedic sacrifices which formed the main religious rites of the orthodox Hindus required heavy expenditure and were only performed by a big sovereign or by many chiefs or wealthy persons in co-operation. So one man or a limited few could only expect to get the religious merit and had the chance of being eulogised. Practising penance was the course open for those Vedic Aryans who could not afford to perform the sacrifices. But Buddhism, encouraged anybody from the masses to contribute his mite towards religion by making votive offerings or by making big or small constructions, without in any way bothering about the Vedic sacrifices or the hard penances. Whenever a man had made his contribution, he naturally wished to get it recorded somewhere in his name. The practice of making offerings increased so much that even the Buddhist monks and nuns who could not really possess any money obtained it by begging and paid the cost of a rail or a pillar of a Buddhist stupa as we see at the Bharhut and Sanchi stupas. The Jain ascetics in the same way exhorted the laymen to make donations and to take care that the fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. In this way Indian Epigraphy initiated with an all-India outlook by Aśoka who thought Epigraphy was the best means of propagating religious ideas among the common people and who can therefore be said to be the father of Indian Epigraphy began to develop rapidly, specially due to the peculiar religious beliefs of the Buddhists which gave more opportunities for setting up inscriptions than those of the Brahmanical Hindus or even of the Jainas. It would be seen that most of the early epigraphs are due to the urge to record gifts and are of a donatory nature and when the idea of putting down a record gained root, records for other purposes began to be issued.

It may be argued against the statement that Buddhism was responsible for the revival of Epigraphy that strictly speaking the edicts of Aśoka which speak of Buddhism are not the earliest epigraphical records but at least two or three records on the Eran coin, on the Sohagaura copper-plate and on the Mahāsthāna stone pillar are found which are earlier in date than the edicts of Aśoka, but which cannot be said to be Buddhist in nature. It may be replied that the very fact that such different kinds of epigraphical records were found shows that it was not an uncommon thing to issue inscriptions and secondly the fact that few inscriptions are found, shows that although writing had existed for a long time past as is evidenced by the development of the script, inscriptions began to be largely issued from this time and due to the influence of Buddhism only. What other thing than the spread of Buddhism which made the common people think of religion and make donations and get them registered in their own names to bring them religious merit must have been responsible for the revival of Indian Epigraphy?

Whatever may be the reason for the abnormally long silence of Indian Epigraphy in the pre-Mauryan period, when once it was broken the number of epigraphical records began to increase very rapidly in all possible ways. As a result of the ceaseless activities of the people in general and the interest of their innumerable rulers the collection of epigraphical records in India during the last twenty-five centuries has grown so enormously that it can very well be said that no other country in the world is so rich in the wealth of its epigraphical material.

From the mere signature of a Buddhist pilgrim on a rail of a stupa to the long edicts of the great emperor Aśoka in different parts of his vast empire bearing no signature of his, from an obscure notice of a poor villager who met his death in a cattle raid to the lengthy record of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, who could get no sleep by his anxiety to protect his vast empire against the raids of the wild Hūṇas, from the memorial record of a *sati* to that of a fasting Jain Sadhu, from the Allahabad pillar inscription recording the victorious expedition of Samudragupta to the Kauśāmbi Yūpa pillar inscription recording the performance of a Vedic sacrifice, from a modern uncouth record of the digging of a well by a pious lady for the use of people and cattle and birds in a waterless tract, to the beautiful poetic praśasti of the Śaka Rudradaman describing the bursting by heavy floods of the ancient Sudarśana lake, from a few lines inscription on a small thin copperplate from Sohagaura recording the state provision of grain and fodder against famine days, to a long book-like inscription on fifty-five large sheets of copper weighing more than 216 lbs. found at a village near Tanjore recording a grant for the maintenance of a number of Brahmanas, from the mere mention of king Kubiraka in a Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription nothing of whose family is known to the elaborate panegyric Sanskrit poem or mahākāvya, of the Mahārāna of Udeypur recording in details the long history of the family, from a copy of the short but famous Buddhist creed formulae on a clay tablet to the copy of a little known Prakrit drama incised on very large stone slabs fixed in the walls of the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar and lastly from the Śivamahimna stotra inscribed on the temple wall at Amaleśvar on the Narmada to the text of a Nidānasūtra engraved on a copperplate found in the excavations at Kasia—all sorts of inscriptions on stone and metal, on clay and wood, on cloth and palm leaf, in Brāhmi and Kharoshtri scripts and in Prakrit and Sanskrit, South Indian and further Indian languages and dating from the fourth century B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D. have been found throughout India and outside India where Indian culture and religion had spread. Some inscriptions are found to commemorate the deposit of Buddhist relics, others celebrate the virtues and exploits of the princes, some place on record the endowments to monasteries, derāsaras and temples and to the Buddhist monks, Jain Sadhus and Vedic Brahmanas while the purpose of others is purely secular. In short there is scarcely any conceivable topic, of public or private interest which is not represented by the Indian inscriptions. They supply most valuable evidence as to the political, social and economic condition of the people and the province to which they belong. They testify on the one hand to the restless activity of a military class and on the other to the stability of the institutions which were as a rule unaffected by military conquest.

Yama and Yamī

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

Yama being acknowledged as the father of the human race in the *Ṛgveda*[1], one may naturally ask, who is the mother according to the Veda? The Ṛgveda introduces her in the act of inviting Yama to procreate mankind. She is named Yamī, one equal to Yama in all, but female.[2] They are supposed to be the children of the same parents: "Gandharya in the floods, the Dance of Water — such is our most lofty kinship."[3] And both are described as having been conceived at the same time: "Even in the womb God Tvaṣṭar, Vivifier, shaping all forms, Creator, made us consorts."[4] Accordingly they are called twins. All the Basutos called Matoome and Matoomyan—-the first man and the first woman, brother and sister.[5] In the same way according to Chinese tradition "one became two," viz. Yin and Yang.[6]. In the Yajur-veda Yamī appears as both sister and wife of Yama.[7] The existence of the first human pair actually created by God is a universal belief in all traditions and legends throughout the world.[8]

The relationship of origin existing between the first parents of the human race was indeed something unique. The *Manu Smṛti* narrates that after the creation of the waters the Supreme Being placed an egg on them. From this egg, was born Nārāyaṇa, a male, also called Puruṣa "created by the eternal imperceptible First Cause" (He is also at times called Brahmā). After a number of details concerning the creation this male Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, one of which was a male (Puruṣa), and the other a female named Virāj.[9] This is fully in agreement with the biblical account in *Genesis*: "Then the Lord cast a deep sleep upon Adam: and when he was fast asleep, he took one of the ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman and brought her to Adam."[10] We do not know for certain whether it was a rib of Adam that God built into a woman. It is admitted even by the orthodox biblical scholars that we owe some of these most ancient traditions of the Bible to the Sumerians.[11] Now the Sumerian ideogram TI (L) has the meaning of both 'rib" and "life", a possible clue to the precise choice of the *ṣēlā*, "rib", from which Moses depicts God creating Eve.[12] In any case this word has not this meaning in other passages of Holy Writ. It only means "something from the side." Such is also the traditional meaning, that Eve was made "from the side of the man",[13] which is also in agreement with the iconographical tradition.[14] One thing is certain that the woman was made out of the living body of the first man,[15] which was also faithfully recorded in Indian tradition, as well as in Icelandic literature. Ymir, Yama's parallel hero of Northern Europe, the first man of the Icelandic people, is said to have slept very profoundly, and during his slumber a maiden and a child sprang up from under his armpit. Says the *Edda*:

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[1] Cf. my article on "The Personality of Yama in the Ṛgveda" in the *Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume.*

[2] Sometimes Yamī is called Yamunā.

[3] *Ṛg.*, X, 10, 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, X, 10, 5.

[5] Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, I, p. 306 (London, 1822).

[6] *Tao Te Ching*, II, 42.

[7] *Maitrayaṇi Saṁhitā*, I, 5, 12; 81, 2.

[8] Cf. Schmidt, *Primitive Revelation*, pp. 196-198 and 206 and also my forthcoming book *Fall and Rise*, Ch. XXIV.

J. 11

> "Under thee armpit grew
> 'Tis said of Hrim-thurs,
> A girl and boy together."[16]

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[9] *Manu Smṛti*, I, 8-32. Viraj is also the wife of Puruṣa according to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 2, 3. Cf. *Ṛg.*, X, 9, 5. *"Haec vocabitur virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est"*, *Gen.*, II, 23.

[10] *Gen.*, II, 21-22.

[11] Cf. Deimel, "The populo Sumerorum", *Verbum Domini*, I, p. 159.

[12] Cf. Junker, Die biblische Urgeschich mentlichen Offenbarung, pp. 41-44 (bonn, 1932).

[13] Cf. Messenger, *Evolution and Theology*, p. 252 n.

[14] Some Talmudist scholars maintain that when Adam was created he was endowed with a tail. God cut it off afterwards and thereof formed Eve. Eisenmenger, *Neuentdektes Judenthum*, I, p. 365; Bartolocci, Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica, III, p. 396. A Gipsy story of Spain echoes the same legend.

[15] Cf. Reply of the Pontifical Biblical Commission of June 30th, 1909, No. 3 in Rome and the Study of Scripture, p. 85 (St. Meinrad, Ind., 1943).

[16] Translation by Benjamin Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, I, p. 4 (1866). Myth had already built its fanciful work upon the original historical tradition by adding a child to the primitive maiden.

A legend of Madagascar also narrates the production of the first woman out of the body of the first man, though intermingled with the story of the first sin. They say that shortly after the first man disobeyed the command of God "a pimple appeared in his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl....He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men."[17]

Accordingly, Yājñavalkya, remembering the origin of the first human pair, used to say "Oneself (*sva*) is like a half-portion."[18] This unique creation of the first woman from the body of man has a mystical significance which is emphasized by St. Paul: "For the man is not of the woman, but the woman is of the man. For the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man."[19] Very wisely, therefore, Dr. Dandekar remarks after the study of all the Vedic passages concerning Yama: "Out of the pair of twins Yama alone remained as the first born progenitor of mankind."[20] For the man was indeed the head of the whole human race, including the first woman. This headship of the man over the woman is also indicated in the Indian tradition, which, though always styling Yama and Yamī as twins, it also records that Yama was the older of the two.[21]

Manu, the hero of the flood, is also spoken of in Brahmanic literature as being united with his only daughter Iḍā to reprocreate mankind after that great catastrophe.[22] We sincerely believe that this is an episode originally belonging to the history of Manu, the first man, which has afterwards been narrated as the history of Manu, the Flood Hero. In Purāṇic literature the daughter of Manu, the first man, is named Ilā.[23] Again, the *Ṛgveda* speaks of a daughter of Manu, apparently the progenitor of the human race, who bore him a score of children at a birth.[24] This daughter is named by the *ṛṣi Parṣu*, which name precisely means "rib."[25] There seem to be many reasons for identifying these three women Yamī, Iḍā and Parṣu. The fact that the two latter are said to be daughters not sisters of the first man is not a serious objection, for in any case the first woman was neither a daughter nor a sister of the progenitor of mankind; and the way how she was created, according to the Bible, the *Manu Smṛti* and the Icelandic tradition gives grounds to call her daughter rather than sister. Among the American Indians called West Algonquins the tribal ancestor actually "creates his wife;"[26] while according to those called Joshua he only "participates in the creation of his wife."[27]

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[17] Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Character*, p. 20.

[18] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3.

[19] *I. Cor.*, II, 8-9.

[20] Dandekar, "Yama in the Veda", *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 206.

[21] Saunaka, *Bṛhadevatā*, cited by Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II, p. 529.

[22] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 8, 1, 7-11.

[23] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 1.

In Iranian tradition the Avestic first man Yima has also a sister called Yimak or Yimeh from whom with him men are sprung.[28] Another tradition calls them Maschia and Maschiāna, who are said to have issued from the ground in the shape of a rubarb plant, which was first one, but which in course of time became divided into two.[29]

At a later period when the original historical tradition became obscure and the human mind was obfuscated by materialistic conceptions and pantheistic speculations, God himself wishing to have a companion, is described as splitting his own body resulting in a pair, male and female. The first time that this myth appears in Indian literature is in the *Ṛgveda* itself, in a passage, which undoubtedly belonged to the original story of the creation of the first woman, and which is now interpolated in the famous *puruṣa Sūkta*: "From him *Puruṣa* (i.e. originally the first man) Virāj was born; again Puruṣa from Virāj was born. As soon as he was born he spread eastward and westward over the earth."[30] We may note that the female Virāj is said to be born (*ajāyat*) from *Puruṣa*, as if she were his daughter; she in turn generates the Puruṣa, viz. not the same Puruṣa of whom she was born, but another one, another man, "who may be regarded as the symbol of further procreation."[31] That is the reason why it is said that after being born he, i.e., mankind, spread over the whole earth, eastward and westward.

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[24] *Ṛgveda*, X, 86, 23.

[25] The Todas of the Nilgiris narrate that once En, the first man, thrust a stick into the earth from whence came eighteen hundred buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding the tail of a buffalo. En took a rib from the side of this Toda man and made a woman and from these two came all the Todas. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, p. 37.

[26] Schmdt, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[28] Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 105-106.

[29] Manhard, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbartstamme*, p. 7; Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, I, pp. 25-26. Another ancient tradition records that the first man was androgynous, male and female, who were cut asunder afterwards by God. Cf. Rappoport, *The Psalms in Life, Legend and Literature*, p. 203.

A repetition of this version is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, where again the Puruṣa, mythically described "as large as a woman and a man closely embraced", caused himself "to fall (*pat*) into two pieces, wherefrom arose a husband (*pati*) and a wife (*pātnī*)." And it is significant what the text adds here: "Therefrom human beings were produced."[32]

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* a similar description is given of the origin of mankind. While Brahmā was meditating upon what course he should follow to propagate the human species, his own form divided itself: one half became man and the other half became woman. The man was called Manu and the woman Śatarūpā, from whom all mankind have sprung.[33]

The *Ṛgveda* has kept a very ancient tradition concerning the first act of the procreation of the human race in the famous dialogue between Yama and Yamī, which has been discussed so many times and has been so often misunderstood.[34] According to it the first amorous proposals leading to the procreation of men came from Yamī. "The procreative instinct of the female is quite unmistakable there," says Dandekar.[35] "So may the Sage (Yama)," says Yamī, "come through the air's wide ocean, remembering the earth and days to follow, obtain a son, the issue of his father."[36]

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[30] *Ṛg*. X, 90, 5. The generation of the *devas* was also described after the pattern of this human generation in *Ṛg*., X, 72, 4-5. Other parallellisms of Yama and Yamī may be seen in Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, p. 312.

[31] Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[32] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3.

[33] *Srīmad Bhāgavatam*, III, 12, 51-56.

[34] *Ṛg*., X, 10. Bergaigne, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 96-98, on the supposition that Yama is the fire, gives a symbolic unreasonable interpretation of this otherwise obvious hymn.

Such is the first overture of Yamī, clear and unmistakable, that must be included in the first chapter of the history of mankind. This famous *sūkta* contains a most primitive erotic dialogue, by far more ancient than the *Ṛgveda.* The main argument of the hymn, says Macdonell "was doubtless the survival of an already existing myth of the descent of mankind from primæval twins."[37] And again: "The dialogue of Yama and Yamī is, as we have, been based on a still older myth."[38] From the literary point of view the dialogue, as it is, is "full of dramatic strength."[39] Owing to this, the hymn is qualified as "an early form of dramatic literature,"[40] or "a fertility drama from which the prudishness of the Vedic age has omitted the vital part of the union of the pair."[41] The hymn is evidently spoiled by the sophisticated Vedic *ṛṣis,* with their scrupulous misunderstood code of ethics. The "great Law of Varuna and Mithra,"[42] invoked in the course of the dialogue could not but admit an exception in the beginning of the history of man. *Ṛta* precisely is *ṛta,* because it is universal. The proposal of Yamī was fully according to it. "The Vedic poet," says Dandekar, "has tried to make the ancient myth of Yama and Yamī a vehicle for a sermon on *ṛta,* moral law — but undoubtedly without success."[43]

The real original tradition seems to be contained in the odd *ṛkṣ* that embody the overture of Yamī. She exposes her reasons in a masterly way: the divine expectations regarding the future of mankind,[44] their original union so ordained by the Creator,[45] her own love,[46] the example of nature,[47] the destruction (*nirṛiti*) of mankind if her proposal is not accepted.[48] The even *ślokas* express the protest of Yama which "only reflects the moral scruples of the author of that hymn." The last words put in the mouth of Yamī do not seem to belong to the original piece of literature. The final issue of Yamī's erotic song was indeed quite successful. But the Vedic author could not countenance such a scandalous event. He wants to produce the impression that the incestuous union did never take place. Accordingly he makes Yamī despise Yama, as a feeble-minded person, incapable of doing anything by himself: "Alas! thou art indeed a weakling, Yama; we find in thee no trace of heart or spirit. As round the tree the woodbine clings, another will cling about thine girt as with the girdle."[49] Strong words, indeed, which though possessing great poetic effect are not complimentary to the head of the human race and cannot therefore reflect an early tradition. They are the product of a late sophisticated age. Hence we may conclude with Dr. Dandekar saying that "the real motif of that episode was therefore altogether changed and was presented in quite a different perspective."[50]

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[35] Dandekar, *op. cit., et loc. cit.*

[36] *Ṛg.,* X, 10, 1.

[37] Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 118.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 120.

[39] Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* I, p. 105.

[40] Macdonell, *op. cit.,* p. 346.

[41] Schroeder, *Mysterium and Mimus,* pp. 275-276 Charpentier, *Suparnasages,* p. 99. (Cf. W. Z. K. M., XXIII (1909), pp. 118-119).

[42] Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama in its origin, Development Theory and Practice,* p. 19.

[43] *Ṛg.,* X, 10, 4 and 6.

[44] Dandekar, *op. cit.,* p. 205.

[45] *Ṛg.,* X, 10, 3.

Owing, perhaps, to this impression they wanted to create that the supposed incestuous union did never take place, the sages of the Brahmanic period tell us that Yama and Yamī are both "of one mind with *nirṛti* (destruction)",[51] this precisely being the word used by Yamī as an argument in favour of the intercourse.[52] Yet somewhat later in the same work the intercourse is clearly spoken of, though not void of unreasonable scruples: "He cohabited with her. From them men were born. She reflected: 'How does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear! She became a cow."[53] The prudishness of the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* is still reflected in these words, though here pronounced by the woman. The man in this case does not seem to have felt any scruples. The story is also recorded though in a different way in another *Brāhmaṇa*: "He asked her: 'Who art thou?' She answered: 'I am she,' 'Verily, then, I am he. Let us two here have intercourse', 'No', he said, 'verily I find no one with whom I might have intercourse; let me have intercourse with thee" ....He said: 'Verily this is a device; it will become the living people' ... Therefore is this device the living people."[54] These discrepancies once more detect the artificiality of these remarks and how far they are from the original tradition of early mankind. In point of fact, as Macdonell rightly remarks, "the attempt to clear Yama of the guilt of incest in *Ṛg.* X, 10, shows that the belief in that incest already existed."[55] Actually the *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā* of the black Yajurveda calls Yamī sister and wife of Yama.[56] The tradition of the intercourse is therefore very early.

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[46] *Ibid.*, 5.

[47] *Ibid.*, 7.

[48] *Ibid.*, 11.

[49] *Ibid.*, 13. An echo of these words of Yamī is found in *Ath.*, VI, 8, 1, as a charm to win a maiden's love: "Like as the creeper throws her arms on every side around the tree, so hold thou me in thine embrace that thou mayst be in love with me, my darling, never to depart".

[50] Dandekar, *op. et. loc. cit.*

[51] *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 2, 1, 10.

[52] Cf. above p.

[53] *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 4, 2, 5-7.

Nor is the fact that Yama is spoken of as the son of Vivasvān[57] an objection against Yama's first parentage of men, for Vivasvān is not a human father. Also Manu is said to be the son of Vivasvān.[58] In another hymn the names of father and mother are given, viz. Vivasvān and Śaraṇyū:[59] while in this dialogue between Yama and Yamī the names are given as Gandharva and the Water Nymph.[60] Now Vivasvān or Gandharva is the Sun and the name of this Water Nymph seems to be Śaraṇyū. Both twins are said to be generated "in the floods."[61] i.e., in the waters of the firmament,[62] or more likely in the original cosmogonic sea of water wherefrom the whole creation was produced.[63] In point of fact, man is described as formed from the waters in the passage of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* quoted above.

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[54] *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa,* I, 53, 4-8 (Oertel, pp. 130-131).

[55] Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 174. Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman,* p. 106.

[56] *Maitrayani Śamhitā,* I, 5, 12; 81, 2.

[57] *Ṛg.,* X, 14, 1, 5; 1; 60, 10; 164, 2.

[58] *Ibid.,* Vaḷakhilya, 4, 1.

[59] *Ibid.,* X, 17, 1-2.

[60] *Ibid.,* X, 10, 4.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Cf. Ludwig, *Ueber die neuesten Arbeiten,* p. 107.

[63] This is an opinion which is found in many Vedic works and even in some of a later period. Cf. *Taittiriya Samhitā,* VII, 1, 5 1; *Tittiriya Brāhmaṇa,* I, 1, 3, 5; *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāmaṇa,* I, 56, 1; *Sathapatha Brāhmaṇa,* XI; 1, 6, 1; etc.

As regards Yama's filiation of Vivasvān, it is our considered opinion that in the beginning Yama was called "the son of Vivasvān" with no reference to the material Sun at all. Vivasvān was a name of God; even down to the period of the *Upaniṣads* God is invoked under denominations of the Sun.[64] To say that Yama was the son of Vivasvān has therefore the same meaning as when in the *Brāhmaṇa* period they affirmed that Parameṣṭhin, the first man, was the son of Prajāpati.[65] In the same way when St. Luke finishes the human genealogy of Jesus Christ, he says: "Chainan who was of Henos, who was of Seth, who was of Adam, who was of God;"[66] which is equivalent to stating that as Chainan was the son of Henos and Henos the son of Seth and Seth the son of Adam; so was also Adam the son of God. In the same way the *devas* were also called the offspring of Vivasvān.[67]

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[64] *Isa Upaniṣad,* 16.

[65] *Satapatha Brāmaṇa,* XI, 1, 6, 16.

[66] Luke, III, 38.

[67] Cf. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda,* I, p. 40.

Mubārak Shāh

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In the previous article, Mubārak Shāh's reign in respect of events in the North-western Provinces has been described. The object of this article will be to record, critically, Mubārak Shāh's campaigns in (I) Rohil-Khanḍ and the Doāb, (II) Gwālior, Miwāt and Bayāna and his relations with the rulers of the Provincial Dynasties. It ought to be realised from the previous narrative, that the attention of the Sultān was drawn more towards the Punjāb, than to any other part of the kingdom, because the Punjab was the danger-spot during his reign to a greater extent than it was during the reign of his father. He led fewer campaigns in the Doāb and Rohilkhanḍ.

The Sultān's Campaigns in Rohīlkhand and Doāb, 1422. In 826/1422, the Sultān crossed the Ganges to lead a revenue-collecting expedition in Rohil-khanḍ, plundered the country-side and punished the rebels including Mahābat K͟hān, the hero of a rebellion in the Badāon Fort during the reign of his father. After receiving Mahābat's homage, the Sultān came to Doāb, plundered the Rāṭhōr areas and attacked the neighbourhood of Khōr (near Shamsabād,) held by the Panwārs.[1] Encamping for some days on the bank of the Ganges, he left Malik Mubāriz, Zirak K͟han, and Kamāl K͟hān, at the Khor fort, in order to make the Rājputs law-abiding. He deputed Malik K͟hairuddīn K͟hān against Rāi Subīr's son who had fled from Khiẕr K͟hān's court, and had, later on, rebelled. After the investment of Etāwa Fort, the Rāṭhōrs offered their submission. Having realised arrears of revenue from the

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[1] *Badāonī,* A.S.B., I, 291.

Doāb and Rohil-Khanḍ he returned to Delhi and dignified Malik Khairuddīn, by appointing him 'Āriẓ-i Mumālik.'[2]

His second Rohīlkhand Doāb campaign 1424. The Sultān led his second and last campaign in Rohilkhanḍ and the Doāb, in 824 Muḥarram/1424, and put Rāi Harsingh, who waited on him on the bank of the Ganges, in detention, for sometime, because of his accumulating three years' arrears of land revenue. He was released after payment of the amount in cash.[3] Crossing the Ganges, he punished other haughty chiefs of Rohilkhanḍ, and chased them upto the Kumāūn-hills.[4] During the summer of the same year he marched along the courses of the Kālī Nadī, and crossed to Kanauj through Kāmpil. The news of an uprising in Miwāt, and the outbreak of a dreadful famine, prevented him from proceeding further.

Miwāt, Gwalior and Ravānā campaigns. The prevalence of a famine did not prevent the Sultān from under-taking a campaign towards Miwāt 828/1424, which had remained unsubdued during the reign of Khiẓr Khān. Its chiefs openly defied the Sultān, after his accession, by withdrawing their allegiance to him. The Sultān began the expedition, by destroying the country-side of the Meos, and driving them for safety to the Jhirka hills, one of their strong positions. The Sultān abandoned the siege because the fort was strong and there was an acute shortage of provisions.

Miwāt Campaign 1425. Next year, 829/1425, the Sultān renewed his Miwāt campaign. Malik Jallū (Jalal Khan) and Qaddū (Qadr Khān) grand-sons of Bahādur Nāhir Khān, evacuated their habitations and entrenched themselves in the Indōr Hills,[5] and when the situation became critical, they retreated to the Alwar hills.[6] Reduced to extremities, Qaddū Khān submitted and was put in confinement. While the Sultan remained encamped in the Alwar hills, his troops plundered the Miwātis, and destroyed their habitations. The Sultān marched back to Delhi without effecting the final subjugation of Miwāt, due to the shortage of provisions and difficulties of supply.

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[2] Tār Mub Shāhī 201; Tab Akb I, 274. 'Āriẓ-i Mumālik is the abbreviation of the 'Āriẓ-i Lashkar-i Mumālik, the Master-Master and Pay-Master of the Army.

[3] Tār Mub Shāhī 203.

[4] Tār Mub Shāhī 203.

[5] Indōr is mentioned in the Āīn, as one of the Mahāls of Tajjāra Sarkār. It contains a hill redoubt. Āīn II. Jarreett 192. It is now a ruined town in Alwar state, about 10 miles east of Tajjāra. Hodivala, Studies 405.

[6] Tār Mub 204.

The Miwāt Campaign of 1428, *and the submission of the K͟hānzādās.* In Shawāl 831/1428, Mubārak Shāh ordered the execution of his prisoner, Malik Qaddū for his treasonable dealings with the Sharqīs, and deputed Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk to crush a fresh rebellion which had started in Miwāt in consequence of Qadr K͟hān's execution. The plains being devastated by the invading troops, the K͟hānzāda chiefs, Aḥmad K͟hān and Malik Fak͟hruddīn, took refuge with their retinue in the Indor hills (in Miwāt). Being besieged and reduced to straits they offered submission and purchased their liberty by clearing the arrears of revenue. Two years later, in 833/1429, the Sultān himself led an army towards Miwāt for realising revenue. When the expeditionary force reached near Manḍawār,[7] the Miwātī leaders hastened to pay the arrears of revenue.

Campaigns in Bayāṇā and Gwālior, 1426-29. In 830/1426, Mubārak Shāh led an army to punish Muḥammad K͟hān, the revolted chief of Bayāna, who had murdered his uncle Mubārak K͟hān Karīm-ul-Mulk[8] a vassal of the Delhi court since 827/1423. Muḥammad K͟hān stood out the siege of the Bayāna Fort for 16 days, but the sources of his supply being cut off, he surrendered himself by tying his turban round his neck,[9] and handing over all his horses, arms, drums and other paraphernalia of sovereignty. He and his family were brought out to Delhi and lodged in the *Jahānumā* Palace of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh,[10] and the Vilāyat of Bayāna was split up into two parts, Bayāna proper and Sikri, given in charge of Malik Muqbil K͟hān and K͟hairuddīn Tuḥfa respectively. The Sultān returned to the capital in Jamādi, I, 830, after easily realising rents and revenue from the Rājas of Gwālior, Thāngaṛh and Chaṇdwār.

Operations in Miwāt, 833/1429. Malik Muḥammad K͟hān, soon after, effected his escape from Delhi, fled to Miwāt and found asylum with his countrymen. With the support of the Zamīndārs of Bayāna, Muḥammad K͟hān made a surprise attack on the forces of Malik Muqbil and drove him straight to Delhi. The Sultān being displeased with Malik Muqbil for his incompetence, conferred Bayānā on Malik Mubāriz and deputed him to take the field against Muḥammad Khān. The Bayāna fort being tightly besieged by royal troops, with the country-side in full control of the latter, Muḥammad K͟hān fled, one night, from the back-door of the fort to seek asylum with Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr. The flight of Muḥammad K͟hān involved Mubārak Shāh in a war with Jaunpūr, then in the heyday of its power and glory. It was not till 833/1429, that Bāyāna was reconquered and its territories incorporated with the Delhi kingdom. But it appears that Muḥammad K͟hān was afterwards pardoned by Mubārak S͟hāh[11] and consequently the Auhadī family continued to reign as nominal vassals of the court of Delhi, as will be described later.

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[7] Placed by Abul Fazl, Āīn II, Jarrett, 192, in Alwar Sarkār.

[8] Ferishta, I, Newalkishore, p. 165.

[9] Ferishta 165, following Yahyā mentions about turban. Niẓāmuddin (Tab. I, 276) and 'Abdul Bāqī (Maasīr I, 415) have rope instead of turban which appears crude even to that less enlightened but chivalrous age.

[10] Ferishta, Newalkishore, I, 165.

Wars with rulers of independent Dynasties, 1422-1433. Sultan Mubārak Shāh was involved in three wars with the rulers of independent dynasties, one with Hushang Shāh G͟horī of Mālwa, the other with the Sharqī Sultān of Jaunpūr, and the third with the Sultāns of Gujrāt.[11a] In 826/1422, Sultān Hushang Shāh G͟hōrī, ruler of Mālwa led his forces for the capture of Gwālior. When the Malwa forces had effectively isolated the fort of Gwālior, Mubārak Shāh as the liege lord of the Rāja, marched to its relief via Bayānā. Crossing the Chambal, a detachment of the royal troops under K͟hān-i 'Āzam Nuṣrat K͟hān plundered the baggage of the Mālwis and scattered their forces after taking many prisoners. To avoid needless bloodshed,[12] the Mālwis were not closely pursued. On the next day peace was concluded on condition that Hushang Shāh retires from Gwālior and Gagrongarh, and pays a ready indemnity. Both these conditions were promptly fulfilled, and Hushang Shāh retired to Dhār, and Mubārak Shāh to Delhi, after realising arrears of revenue from the Gwālior Rāja.

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[11] Maāsīr-i Rahīmī I, 418.

[11a] For these episodes vide the writers "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India in the 15th century", published in the Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum, No. 78, Vol. 26, p. 236 ff.

[12] Tār Mub Shāhī, 208.

War with Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, 1426-1427.

Mubārak Shāh's operations against Muḥammad K͟hān, the K͟hānzāda chief of Bayānā, involved him in a very costly war. News of a Sharqī invasion of the Delhi territories was conveyed to the Delhi court by the emissaries of Qādir K͟hān, the semi-independent chief of Kālpī (Jalaon District, U.P.). The news of the attack and plunder of Bhongāon[13] was followed by the report of their advance on Badāon. Postponing his march towards Bāyānā, the Sultān deputed Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmud Ḥasan ('Imād-ul-mulk) to oppose the vanguard of the Sharqī army under the command of Muk͟hlis K͟hān,[14] brother of Ibrāhīm Shāh, marching on Etāwa with one hundred thousand cavalry. Malik Maḥmūd was out-witted by the enemy. The Sharqī forces marching through the Doāb, succeeded in joining the main army under Ibrahim Shāh, by hugging the courses of the Kālī Nadī. It appears that Sultān Mubārak Shāh was on his way towards Bāyāna, for, we learn from histories[15] that he lost no time in crossing the Jumna from the Noh and Tappal side[16] and marching through the main high-way to the east (via Kōl), he punished the rebels of Atrauli and Jartauli, who, it appears, were helping the invaders.

Battle of Burhānabād.

The Sultān encamped near Burhānabād,[17] described as a dependency of Mārhara.[18] After an indecisive encounter, following a 24 days' encampment, the Sharqī forces retreated during the night by fording the Jumna near Rāpri, and dashed towards Bayānā to install Muḥammad K͟hān there. The Delhi forces gave a close chase to the Sharqīs by crossing the Jumna near Chandwār, and entrenched themselves on the bank of the Gāmbhīr river within 8 miles of the enemy camp.[19]

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[13] In Mainpūri Distt., U. P. on the Shikuhabād-Farruk͟habād Section of the E.I.R. 7 miles NE of Mainpuri town.

[14] Muk͟hlis K͟hān acc. to Ferishta, not Muk͟htas Khan of Niẓāmuddin.

[15] Tabaqāt I, 277, and Tār Mub Shāhī, 208.

[16] A Pargana town in Aligaṛh Distt., 31 miles W. by S. of Aligaṛh town.

[17] I have not been able to identify this Burhānabād described as 'a dependency of Marhara', situated on the high road to the east. Till now, I accept the suggestion made by Dr. Ishtiāq Husain Qurēshī who hails from Patiali, that it might be Sikandra Rāo, a locality which was given this name during the reign of Akbar. This is very likely explanation for the sudden dis-appearance of Burhānabād which was not a small place, as is surmised from its frequent mention during the early medieval period.

[18] Tār Mub Shāhī, p. 208.

Battle of the Gāmbhira, 1428 *and the retreat of the Sharqīs.*

A pitched battle was fought after a 20 days' watching on 7th Jamadi 831/1428, lasting from mid-day till sunset, after which both the armies entered their camps without yielding any ground to their opponents. It must be admitted that Mubārak Shāh had the better of the fight in the sense that he had meanwhile drawn a huge reinforcement, under the command of Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, K͟hān 'Āzam Fatḥ K͟hān, son of Muẓaffar Shāh Gujrātī, Majlis-i 'Ālā Zirak K͟hān, Malik Kālū Malik Aḥmad Tuḥfa and Malik Muqbil K͟hān. This over-whelming superiority in numbers enabled him to make up losses in casualties with a vast reserve in hand. The Sharqī forces were badly mauled. Consequently, the latter slipped off towards Jaunpūr via Rāpri. Mubārak Shāh chased the enemy upto the bank of the Jumna.

Sultān marches to Bayānā to punish Muḥammad K͟hān.

The Sultān preferred to divert his attention to Hatkānt,[20] the abode of the sturdy Bhadauria Rajputs, to collect revenue from its chief. He then marched to Bayānā to punish Muḥammad K͟hān, and compelled him to surrender after a seven days' siege. He was pardoned by the Sultān but he managed to fly to Miwāt to enlist the support of his clans-men. He was punished for this perfidy by the forfeiture of his Jāgīr. This exclusion of the Auḥadī dynasty seems to have been only temporary, for, soon after in his very reign, we find Maḥmūd K͟hān Auḥadī, son of Muḥammad K͟hān installed in Bayānā, perhaps as the result of a second amnesty by the clement Sultān.

Loss of Nagaur, and its occupation by Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt 1432.

In 836/1432, Nagaur, which had been attached to the so-called Saiyad Dynasty, since the time of K͟hiẓr K͟hān, was lost to

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[19] Tēr Mub Shāhī; pp. 207-209.

[20] In Bāh Tahsil, Āgra Distt.

Delhi, when it was captured by Sultān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt. Busy as Mubārak Shāh was in fighting a life-and-death duel against the Khokhars, Mug͟hals and Turk-bachchas, he could not succour a distant out-post like Nagaur. Fīruz K͟hān, son of Shams K͟hān Dandani who was an uncle of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh I (of Gujrāt), offered homage, and cash to Aḥmad Shāh, when the latter marched on him at the head of a large force. Aḥmad Shāh however retained him over Nagaur, but he placed Gujrātī garrisons in strategic places to ensure its control by the court of Gujrāt.

Mubārak Shāh mobilizes to save Kālpī from Sharqī and Malvi attack.

In 837/1433, during the year of Mubārak Shāh's death, news was conveyed by Qādir K͟hān, the chief of Kālpī to the effect that the Sharqī forces under Sultān Ibrāhīm and the Mālwa forces under Hushang Shāh, were both heading towards Kālpī. A strategic position like Kālpī, a stepping stone towards the east and the south could not be abandoned by a warrior-king like Mubārak Shāh. He was marching with a huge army for the succour of Kālpī, when his life was cut short by assassination. The circumstances are as follows:

Circumstances of Mubārak Shāh's assassination 1433.

It has been narrated in the previous pages, that Mubārak Shāh returned to Delhi, after a successful completion of a campaign against the Mug͟hals and Khokhars, on the 10th Zilhaj, 836/Nov. 13, 1433. He busied himself in looking after the affairs of administration long neglected due to military pre-occupation. It appears that during the absence of the Sultān, Sarwar-ul-Mulk had tried to consolidate his position for an eventual usurpation of power. Under the pretext that "the duties of the wazir could not be discharged satisfactorily by Sarwar-ul-Mulk," the Sultan had put the Department of Ishraf which involved an overall supervision of the administration in charge of Kamal-ul-Mulk, but retained Sarwar in the control of the finances, and gave orders that both he and Sarwar should decide matters jointly. And since Kamal-ul-Mulk was the more intelligent of the two and was a favourite of the Sultān, he secured an upper hand in all spheres of administration. Sarwar took offence at this lack of the Sultan's confidence.

Assassination of the Sultān at the mosque of Mubārakabād.

He bore malice and swore vengeance, and made up his mind to reverse the new arrangement, by hook or crook. He took to his confidence, the sons of Gangū and Gājū Khattrī, who from the time of their fore-fathers, had been favoured by the kings of this dynasty and also Mirān-i Sadr, the Naib-i ‘Arz-i || Mumalik, Qāẓī ‘Abdus Samad, the K͟hās Hājib. They were on the look out for an opportunity. It was the habit with the Sultān to pay frequent visits to the city of Mubarakabād,[20a] which he had founded on the bank of the Jumna in 830/1426, to supervise the construction works. On the eve of conducting a campaign to succour Kālpī from a threatened attack by the Mālwa and Jaunpur forces, the Sultān found time to pay a visit to his favourite Mubārakabād, to direct constructions. As he entered the chief mosque of the city, with a handful of guards, to offer Friday prayer on the 9th Rajab, 837/Feb. 19, 1434, Mirān Ṣadr scattered the guards by a cunning devise and Sidhāran Gangū with his following stood at the entrance ostensibly to keep guard but really to prevent succour reaching from outside. The Sultān, as could be expected, did not suspect any foul play. And as he was entering the mosque, Sidhpāl, the grand-son of Gājū Khattrī, struck his sword on the Sultān's head, so that "the blood of his life ran out".[21] His tomb stands on an octagonal stone-paved Chabutra in the centre of an enclosure surrounded by embattled rubble walls in the centre of the village of Mubārakpūr-Kōtla.[21a] Sultān Mubārak Shāh reigned for 17 lunar years and 20 days (16 years, 8 months and 29 days by solar calculation).[22]

[20a] The city of Mubarakabad of which not the slightest trace now remains is supposed to have been founded near K͟hizrābād in the village known as Mubārakpūr Reta. Zafar Hasan, A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 23.

[21] Tār Mub Shāhī, 235.

[21a] For full description see Zafar Hasan's A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 41. The tomb is occupied by villagers, a few of the houses being built on its stone-paved Chabutra.

[22] Hodivala, [Studies 410], and Nelson Wright are inclined to put his reign upto 839/1436, on the basis of coins found after 837 H.

Character of Sultān Mubārak Shāh; his vigilance and death.

No Muslim historian, not even the author of Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī, has given a single paragraph to describe the character of Sultān Mubārak Shāh. All that we get in this regard in Persian sources, is a sentence here or an allusion to a certain trait there. Fortunately we have enough material to form a sufficiently accurate analysis of this Sultān's character. He was undoubtedly the ablest ruler of his line. He was fond of an active and vigilant life, passed the greater portion of his time on the battle-field, neither caring for the inclemency of the elements, nor the resources of a powerful enemy. His personal initiative and dash enabled the Sultanate to tide over many crises, such as the invasion of his territories by the Khokhars, the Mughals and the Sharqīs. When occasion demanded, he poured the entire resources of the kingdom, against a determined enemy, and swept him clean by sheer force of number.

His kindness, avarice, cruelty, mistrust.

Kind hearted and benevolent by nature, he was a cherisher of his people, and extremely clement to a fallen foe. But he had his weakness too. He was avaricious and a little too fond of wealth, for it was his avarice which caused the rebellion of Fūlād Turk-bach-cha, in Tabarhind, when he demanded a portion of the huge treasures left by Saiyad Sālem of Amrōha. Then again, his revenue-collecting expedition in the Doāb and in Miwāt at times of famine and severe scarcity of provisions, cannot be supported by any ethics. In Miwāt and Bayānā and at least once in Gwālior, his soldiers sacked towns and the country-side, almost before the eyes of the Sultān, and perhaps at his orders. And this was one of the reasons as to why the Miwātīs bore such a bitter hatred towards Delhi, with which they were not prepared for a reconciliation under any condition. And secondly suspicion gained the uppermost in his dealings with governors and military officers. Though it cannot be denied that it is a good thing to prevent the provincial governors and army officers accumulate power, by staying in one place for too long a time, it cannot be denied that many of the needless and irritating shifts of officers who deserved recognition for their services in the defence of the country, were unjustifiable. The Sultān was a diplomat of the first rank in addition to his being an intrepid warrior and a good general. But a diplomat often gets entangled in his own net. His suspicion of Sarwar's designs, and the half-way solution of dividing the powers and responsibilities of the Wazīr cost him his life. He ought to have acted with more firmness and strength, by curing the ill by the imprisonment or removal of the cunning and designing Sarwar.

Command over army and eye over strategic positions.

What testifies to the greatness of the Sultān is the manner and extent to which he kept the army in control, in an age of mercenary soldiership. Though a very nominal personal army of the Sultān seems to have been in existence, on every occasion when necessity demanded, he drew on the feudal army on a very large scale, and there is not a single instance of hesitation, desertion or insubordination. Huge armies each under its own chief moved at his bidding like pieces on a chess-board, and even insufficient recognition of merit, did not prompt any war-lord to adopt a policy of defiance or open rebellion. It was his policy to keep an argus-eyed vigilance over the strategic frontier out-posts and to keep the forts in the marches well-supplied with fighting men and well-stocked with provisions. Kanauj or Kālpī, Bayānā, Lāhore, Dīpālpūr and Multān always attracted the attention they deserved. It was this factor, as we have seen, which enabled him to stem the Mughal and Sharqi tide and keep the ship of state afloat. To a student of military history, the defences of the North-western border, and Multān and Dīpālpūr in particular, will always go to his credit and serve as an illustration as to how the western frontier can be protected without protruding the defence belt in the hilly areas and mountain passes.

Lack of bigotry.

Though a great observer of the Sharia, fairly punctilious in the observance of prayers, he was not a bigot. Modern historians who have painted him in the colour of an iconoclast have done him injustice. There is not a single instance of his harsh or partial treatment towards a non-Muslim on account of his being so. The victims of his cruel rent-collecting expeditions were Hindus and Muslims alike. I have already cited the example of Miwāt where resistance was being offered by the Muslims and the same holds true of Bayānā. He did not come to settlement with Hushang

Shāh of Mālwa to divide Gwālior between two Muslim sovereigns.[23] When Hushang Shāh led his army for its conquest from the Tonwārs, he led an army to protect a Hindu vassal. To cite one more example, it has been established in the earlier narratives that several Khattrī families of Delhi were attached to his court and had been favoured by the Sultān and trusted by him and his father.

His love for fine arts and of architecture.

It is difficult to say authoritatively to what extent Mubārak Shāh was a patron of the learned, but it is established beyond doubt that he was a man of refined tastes, and a lover of fine arts, and of architecture especially. In 830/1426, he had founded a new Delhi on the bank of the Jumna and named it Mubārakabād, and spared no pains and lost no opportunity, to pay visits to it and supervise its new constructions. That the city possessed a Juma mosque testifies to the fact that it had grown up into a fairly big town.

It must be said in his favour that he kept in tact territories handed over to him by his father. But for his readiness and resourcefulness, the dynasty would have come to an earlier end before the combined onslaught of the Khokhars and Mug͟hals. It will not be too much to say that he delayed the Mug͟hal occupation of India by a century.

"He was a wise monarch of laudable traits", says Ferishta, "and a lover of justice, and during the whole course of his reign, no abuse or vulgar words passed from his lips....He investigated all affairs of the state himself".[24]

To be continued.

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[23] Tār Mub Shāhī, 202. Tab Akb III, 298.

[24] Ferishta, Newalkishore I, 169.

Reviews

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VELLAR BASIN—By Dr. M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Dedicated to Lt.-Col. Sri A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University. Forward by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Printed at the National Art Press with 3 plates and 2 maps and published by Amuda Nilayam Ltd., Madras 1954. Price Rs. 8.

This publication is the outcome of a thesis submitted by the author for his Ph.D. Degree and it is a study of the origin and early history of the Vellalars, one of the major castes of the Tamil Nad. The connection between the Vellar Basin and the Vellalars may not be apparent. The Irukkuvels (Velir), according to the author, are found gathered together roughly in the basin created by the Vellar, of which an old Tamil poem mentions two as forming the Southern and the Northern boundaries of the Early Chola Kingdom. The Vels or Velirs being the originators of the Vellalars, the author holds that the history of the Vellar Basin reveals also the history of this influential caste.

The thesis has been prepared under the inspiring guidance of the Rev. Heras, S.J. The introduction briefly describes the sources of information and emphasizes the general importance of the subject. The main book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the early history of the Vellar Basin. The Gangetic origin of the Vels and the Tamil poet Kapilar's statement about their origin are discussed in full. The chronology of the early Vels and the date of their southern migration, including the route taken by them, are next indicated. It is said that six prominent families of the early Vels are known to have existed during the Sangam period and that one of them was the family of Irukkuvels.

The second part is a detailed study of the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur based on a careful investigation of the Muvar Koil inscriptions. The result is embodied in five chapters (Chapt. V-IX). A genealogy of the Irukkuvels is constructed and the achievements of some of them are then narrated.

It is surmised that the Irukkuvels had come to stay in the south at least as early as the Sangam period (i.e. 2nd cen. A.D.) and that one of them was attempting to establish his rule in the South. This ruler is taken to be Irungovel mentioned in Pattinapalai (line 282) and Ahananooru (36). Madurai-Kanchi also makes an implied reference to this Vel while describing the battle of Talaiyalangam. He formed a confederacy with Ezhini and other chieftains and with Krumbers (identified by some with Pallavas) who wielded great power and influence. As the leader of this confederacy, he fought with Karikala and Nedunjeliyan of Talayalanganam fame.

An Irukkuvel of a later period vanquished a Pandya, probably with the help of the Pallavas and established his rule at Kodumbalur. From him, 10 successive rulers are mentioned and the approximate period of their rule is stated to be from A.D. 435 to A.D. 765, giving an average of 30 years to each of them. This period is roughly identified with what the historians call the period of "Kalabhra Interregnam.' The author discusses the various views regarding the identity of the Kalabhras. But whoever they are, the Irukkuvels, it is said, remained comparatively unaffected by their impact. The question whether the Kodumbalur Irukkuvels belong to a new family or to the old family of Velirs is left undecided, though the writer inclines to the view that they are of a different family.

Paradurgamardhana, the 7th in the line, is mentioned in the Kodumbalur inscription as having conquered Vatapi, and this, it is held, furnishes a definite date on which the Kodumbalur chronology may rest. Samarabhirama, his successor married a Chola princess and he is said to have defeated a Chalukya. The author identifies the latter with Pulakesi. Bhoothi Vikrama Kesari, his successor, is responsible for the inscription. This Vikramakesari routed the Pallava army on the banks of the Kaveri, defeated Virapandya in battle and destroyed a certain Vanchi Vel. Much ingenuity is shown in identifying the Chalukyas, the Pallava and the Vanchivel.

Next, the relationship between Irukkuvel and the Muttaraiyans who came into prominence just about this period are discussed in full. The importance of Irukkuvels as Royal Officers and the nature of the Public service they rendered form the subject-matter of two sections. Their power as generals and their influence in shaping the foreign policy of Cholas are dealt with in two more sections. The ninth chapter narrates the events which led to the downfall of the Irukkuvels. A new line of chieftains by the name Pallavarayar were taking their place in the Chola service. The Cholas themselves declined about this period. Internal troubles and the arrival of foreign powers completed the end of the Irukkuvels' glory.

The last chapter deals with the influences of the Irukkuvels on society, on administration, and on art and architecture.

The above is a brief summary of the contents of the book. The author gives us a lucid account of a subject, obscure but important. His method of presentation is commendable. The book is an exhaustive treatment of all questions relating to Irukkuvels' history. We are glad to find that no relevant matter is left untouched. But there are several points which need further consideration and further proofs. With regard to some, it may not be possible to agree with the author.

In the introduction, a stray, fugitive stanza beginning with கடல் கிழக்கு ' and ascribed to Kambar, is taken as evidencing the existence of the Velirs round about the Vellar Basin during the Sangam period. This shows that scant regard is paid to chronology. A hazy notion that the Velir and the Vellar are somehow connected seems to be at the bottom of this view. In the first part of the book, the author depends mainly on legends. The Vels are said to have arisen from the sacrificial pit of a northern sage (Puram 201). The vellalars on the other hand are said to be the sons of the Ganges, perhaps on the basis of a popular derivation of the word from Vellam meaning water. This difference in the origin must put us on our guard in identifying Vels and Vellalas. The first, no doubt, appears in the Sangam Period; but there is no mention of the Gangaputra legend in any of the Sangam works. Moreover this second legend arose far later in date and most probably it is not much earlier than Tondaimandala Satakam (18th century). The evidence of Pliny and Ptolemy to the contrary, adduced by the author must be examined more closely. The reference seems to be incorrect. Besides, the term Vellala itself is not found in Sangam literature. There is a possibility of a different origin of the word and if this origin is the correct one, then even the partial similarity in south does in no way help the identification. So the author's proposed origin of Vellalas rests on the quicksand of conflicting legends, one of them hardly two centuries old. We may legitimately conclude that this portion of the thesis remains unsatisfactory.

The existence of the Irukkuvels during Sangam Period is another surmise. There is no mention of any Irukkuvel in Sangam literature and we find references only to Irungovels. The latter means the great Royal family of Vels and it is a far cry from this to Irukkuvel. The author himself admits that the Irrukuvels who set up his rule at Kodumbalur might have belonged to another family.

The chronology of the Irukkuvels is also constructed on a series of doubtful identifications, the corner-stone being Paradurgamardana's claim as the conqueror of Vatapi. As the author puts it, this conquest has become a regular storm-centre of controversy between the historians. If the author's view be correct, then Kodumbalur would have been made capital of the Irukkuvels about the first half of the fifth century A.D. But there are reasons to hold that the city itself was founded centuries later. The Sangam literature has nothing to say about it. Its earliest mention appears in* Silappadikaram. (XI, 7) and scholars tend to the view that this kavya has to be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. It follows therefore that the foundation of Kodumbalur may not be much earlier than the 8th cent. A.D. In this view, the author's chronology of the Irukkuvels might require considerable alteration and, more probably, Mr. Venkayya is right in his conclusion regarding this.

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* Silappadikaram is indebted to Bharata Natya Sastra, Panchatantra etc.; it quotes from Palamoli, Nanmanikadikai etc.—all works of the 8th century; it adopts later legends such as the story of Manu-Niti-kanda Chola, Pandya wearing Indra's necklet; it contains stories in forms much developed from their originals in Sangam works; it refers to sacred shrines such as Thiruvengadam, Srirangam etc., which attained religious importance only during the period of Vaishnava Bhakti cult in the Tamilaham; it mentions the local dance of Sakkaiyar Kuttu found only in inscriptions of the 10th century A.D.; it shows an advanced knowledge of astrology, and mentions the five elements, Panchangam; it refers to Bangala, a late form of Vanga, found in inscriptions of 9th century A.D.—all these are evidences which militate against the view that Silappadikaram belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D. The highly developed metres of this kavya, the late words, the late forms of words such as nam, un, inda, etc., the late case-terminations, the late infixes and suffixes of verbs and the increased percentage of Sanskrit words —are all pointers in the same direction and leave us little in doubt as to the date of this great classic.

Such controversial matters apart, the book is a welcome addition to our historical series. It is a valuable contribution towards the study of the little-known Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur.

S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI.

THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA (circa 455-1000 A.D.) by Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, with a Foreward by Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Patna, 1954. Pages 481 with plates.

As pointed out in my *Tribes in Ancient India* (Chap. XLVI) Magadha occupied an important position in very early times. King Bimbisāra was the real founder of the Magadhan Imperial power. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring states of Kośala and Vaisālī. His marriage paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward and enabled him to add a portion of Kāśī to his dominions and to launch Magadha on that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. One of his sons Ajātaśatru succeeded not only in permanently annexing Kāśī but also in absorbing the land of the Licchavis. Udāyi Bhadda succeeded his father Ajātaśatru on the throne and reigned for 16 years. The successors of Udāyi Bhadda were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. Śiśunāga was made king and he reigned for 18 years and was followed by his son Kālāśoka who reigned for 28 years. Kālāśoka had 10 sons who ruled for 22 years. Then came in succession the nine Nandas who took possession of the throne of Magadha and are said to have reigned for 22 years. The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya with the help of his minister Kauṭilya. He was succeedeed by his son Bindusāra who, according to the *Purāṇas,* reigned for 25 years. After Bindusāra came his son Aśoka who reigned without coronation for 4 years and then consecrated himself as king in the city of Pāṭaliputra. He assumed the title of *Devānampiya* and loved to speak of himself as *Devānampiyadasi.* He was at first called Caṇḍāsoka on account of his evil deeds; but he became known as Dhammāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds. During the first 13 years of his reign Aśoka appears to have followed the tradition of Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with foreign powers. The annexation of Kalinga like that of Aṅga by Bimbisāra, was a landmark in the history of Magadha and that of India. Aśoka's change of religion after the Kalinga war, resulted in a change of the monarch's internal as well as foreign policy. He renounced once for all the old policy of violence, of conquering peoples, suppressing revolt by force, and annexing territory. This change of policy darkened the political horizon of the Magadhan empire in its heyday. Magadha before Bimbisāra was merely a tiny state in south Behar. During the interval from the time of Bimbisāra to the Kalinga war of Aśoka it expanded to a gigantic empire from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kalinga war the political destiny of Magadha was reversed. The empire gradually became smaller and smaller till it sank to its pre-Bimbisarian area and position. Brihadratha the last king of the Maurya dynasty was treacherously murdered by his commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who established himself on the throne and set up the Śuṅga dynasty. The last of the Śuṅga monarchs named Devabhuti was overthrown by his minister Vāsudeva Kāṇva. At the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Magadhan monarchy again rose into prominence under the Guptas. The first independent sovereign was Chandragupta, son of Mahārāja Ghatoṭkacha Gupta, and grandson of Mahārāja Gupta. Like Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. His son and successor Samudragupta often felt pride in describing himself as a son of the daughter of the Licchavis (*Licchavi-dauhitra*). It was the aim of Samudragupta to bring about the political unification of India and to make himself the sole sovereign over this united empire. He made the rulers of the *Āṭavikarājyas* (forest-kingdoms) his servants, led an expedition to the south, and made his power felt by the powerful rulers of eastern Deccan. The most important among the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa, Davāka and Kāmarūpa. The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th century comprised all the most populous and fertile provinces of northern India. It extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Beyond these wild limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance, while almost all the kingdoms of the south were overrun by the Emperor's army and compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II who assumed the title of Vikramāditya. He was also called Siṃhachandra and Siṃhavikrama. He was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. The greatest military achievement of Samudragupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian sea through Malwa and Gujrat and his subjugation of the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Kathiāwar governed by the Śaka satraps. As a result of the western expedition Malwa and Saurāṣtra were added to the Gupta dominions. Another event of political importance was his matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka kings of the Deccan by the marriage of the Emperor's daughter Prabhāvatī with king Rudrasena II, son of Prithivīsena I. Smith finds it reasonable to believe that in the 5th century A.D. Ayodhyā rather than Pāṭaliputra was the premier city of the Gupta empire. Detailed information regarding the administration of the Magadha empire under Chandragupta II is not available. But the narrative of Fa-Hien and the hitherto discovered inscriptions throw much light on the character of his administration, and on the social and religious condition of India at that time. After Chandragupta II the Gupta power in Magadha was temporarily eclipsed by the Puṣyamitras. Then followed the Hūna invasion in which Skandagupta was, according to some, presumably victorious but according to others, was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. But the Magadhan empire did not wholly perish on the death of Skandagupta. It was ruled by Puragupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta

II and Budhagupta. Then the imperial line passed on to a dynasty of 11 Gupta princes known as the later Gupta monarchs of Magadha. The Gupta empire continued to exert sovereign rights in the latter half of the 5th as well as the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. In the first half of the 7th century A.D. Śrīharṣa, the great Kanauj monarch, overshadowed the Gupta power which was revived by Ādityasena who assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. Adityasena and his successors as proved by Aphṣad and Deo-Baranark inscriptions were the only north Indian sovereigns who laid claim to the imperial dignity during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., and appear actually to have dominated Magadha and Madhyadeśa. The last king of the line of Ādityasena was Jivītagupta II who reigned early in the 8th century A.D. About this time the throne of Magadha was occupied by a Gauḍa king named Gopāla. Then the great Magadhan empire decayed politically, being included in the Gauḍa empire of the Pālas and Senas, but it continued to remain the centre and headquarters of Buddhist learning upto the time of the Mohammedan conquest at the close of the 12th century A.D, when the monasteries with well-stocked libraries were reduced to ashes. The author has done justice to these points in his book covering the period from the 5th century to the 11th century A.D.

The author has chosen an interesting subject. He says in his *Preface* that his work is substantially the thesis approved by the University of London for Ph.D. degree, and he further says that he is indebted to Dr. Barnett who has not only supervised his study and given him numerous valuable suggestions, but has taken great pains to go through every line of the book. This book contains 15 chapters with an introduction. The introduction deals with the location of Magadha and its importance in the early history of India. He refers to Magadha as one of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in early Buddhist literature. Then he has said something about the Nandas, Chandragupta and Aśoka, the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Kuṣāṇas and the Imperial Guptas. In page XVI the author ought to have said something about the fields of Magadha in connection with agriculture. The *Vinayapiṭaka* (I. p. 287) distinctly says that they were well-divided for the purpose of cultivation. Paddy was destroyed by deer, which used to come to the fields during harvest. The Magádhas devised various means to kill them (*Jātaka*, I, 143; 1.154). He ought to have supplied the reference to the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyāṇa*. It should be 10th svarga, 37th śloka. It is undoubtedly an exaggeration when the author says that from the *Jātakas* we learn that Magadha was full of big merchants and bankers. I do not find much in the *Jātakas* to support this statement. Regarding conch-shells no reference is given. It should be *Jātaka* VI, 465 (*Māgadhāsaṃkhā* = *Magadharaṭṭhe sañjātā saṃkhā*). It is a pity that no reference is given to the Magadhan banker named Saṃkha who possessed 80 *koṭis* of riches. It is found in the *Jātaka I*, p. 466—*Seṭṭhi ahosi asītikoṭivibhavo Saṃkha-seṭṭhīti.* In page XVII the author says that according to Yuan Chwang, Magadha was a country of rich soil and luxuriant crops. Similarly no reference is given. It should be Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 86. He could give us a little more information about the special variety of rice. It had extraordinary savour and fragrance, called by the people 'the rice for grandees.' The author has quoted my book, *The Magadhas in Ancient India* with no page-number. It is page 29. He has distorted the fact stated in my above book regarding the houses of merchants. It should be 36,000 houses of merchants and not 3,600. The author should note that there were 36,000 houses, half of which belonged to the Buddhists and the other half to the Jainas. There are several printing mistakes and some serious mistakes too. There was no such village as *Ratthigāma*. It should be *Hatthigāma*. The quotation from Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* (pp. 103-104) needs verification. Where does the author get 'east' instead of 'coast'? Where does he get *from?* In the *Preface* the author says, 'In spite of my care there are some proof mistakes in the book.' The author ought to know that I am pointing out only the serious mistakes and avoiding such mistakes as *Sehavya* in place of *Setavya*, *Patitthana* in place of *Patiṭṭhāna*, *Savatthi* in place of *Sāvatthī*. The chapter I deals with the death of Kumāragupta I and accession of Purugupta. This chapter is interesting and well-written. But I must point out that there are some references which are wrong. In page 3 reference No. 5, in page 19 reference No. 1, and in page 46 reference No. 4 should be verified. The part played by Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II in Magadhan expansion in chapter 2 is quite readable. All that is said about Budhagupta in chapter 3 and his successors in chapter 4 may be read with interest. But there are some blemishes here and there which need the attention of the author. In page 73 reference No. 1 is wrong; it should be p. 501 instead of p. 365. The reference No. 2 is also wrong; the page number is 111 and not 115. In page 78, the reference No. 3 is wrong and the quotation is incorrect. In page 105 reference No. 8 is incorrect; reference No. 3 is also wrong; in page 106 references Nos. 1 and 3 are wrong. We can gather this much from Smith's *Early History of India* (4th Ed. p. 128) that from the time of Chandragupta Pāṭaliputra was surrounded by a broad and deep moat filled from the waters of the Sona river. I request the author to verify his statement in page 107 of his book. The reference No. 9 is incorrect. In page 110 *Sung Yun* should be *Song Yun* (vide Smith's *Early History,* p. 374, f.n.1). In page 112 the reference No. 4 about the *Records* is wrong. In page 125 the quotation No. 5 is not accurate.

The chapter V dealing with the later Guptas (circa 500-600 A.D.) is informative and useful. In this chapter the author relying on the authority of Raichaudhury says that in the time of Ādityasena Magadha replaces eastern Malwa as the chief centre of Gupta power. He has quoted *PHAI,* 4th Ed. pp. 492-493, which do not contain this fact. It is in a footnote on page 493. The history and chronology of the later Guptas treated in chapter VI refer to two important points to which the author has already drawn our attention: the contemporaneity of Īśānavarman Maukhari and the Gupta king Kumāragupta and the synchronism of Mādhavagupta with Harṣavardhana the king of Kanauj. In page 160 of the book under review there is nothing in the *B.C. Law Volume I,* p. 25, to support the author's contention that in Malwa Yośodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana came into power. His rise may not be as meteoric as generally supposed. In page 179 the author should verify the quotation from my book *Ancient Indian Tribes,* Vol. II, p. 41. Magadha under the Imperial Maukharis in chapter VII and Magadha under the Gauḍas in chapter VIII are, on the whole, useful, although there are some inaccuracies here and there. In page 215 *Rāḍhapurī* should be *Rāḍhāpurī.* The reference No. 2 is wrong. The page number is 509 and not 508. The author's dissertation on Magadha under Śaśāṅka has thrown much light on the subject. In page 226 f n.3 the quotation is not accurate. In page 253 the footnotes 2 and 3; in page 254 the footnote No. 3; and in page 258 the footnote No. 2 are all wrong. In page 259 the author is quoting Yuan Chwang who observes that in Karṇasuvarṇa there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries and not ten only as pointed out by the author. The fact should be correctly stated in a learned and scientific work.

Magadha under Pūrṇavarman and Harṣa, which forms the chap. IX of the book, reveals the fact that the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha was Pūrṇavarman according to Hiuen Tsang. Harṣa's rule existed not only in Magadha but also it was extended to the countries east of Magadha. He was also the ruler over a large part of Bengal. In page 264 footnote No. 3 needs verification. In page 269 f. n. 3 the author refers to 80 towns which should be 80 large towns. In page 275 f. n. 2 the quotation from Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* II, p. 173 is totally wrong. In page 275 f.n. 4, *400 li* should be *above 400 li.* In page 276 f.n. 4 I have failed to trace the reference to Watters, II, p. 322. In page 324 of Watters, *On Yuan Chwang, Matipura* occurs and not *Mātipura.* In page 277 f.n. 5 references to C.A.G.I. p. 648 and pp. 159-160 are wrong. The author should verify the reference to Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* II, pp. 196-197. I have noticed tens of towns instead of tens of thousands of towns. The chap. X deals with the history of Magadha under the restored later Guptas (from cir. 647-725 A.D.). The account of Ādityasena is very interesting. In page 296 f. n. 5, I have consulted *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Beal (p. xxxvi) which refers to a ruined establishment with only its foundations remaining called the *Tchina* or (*China*) temple. The author ought to see to it.

His account of Magadha under Gopāla, Dharmapāla and Devapāla of the Pala dynasty given in chapters XI, XII, & XIII is interesting and instructive. The author has well utilised relevant epigraphic data in this connection. Then follow the chapters XIV & XV dealing with Magadha under Śūrapāla, Vigrahapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, Vigrahapāla II, and Mahīpala. The author has then given a concluding note. In the Appendices the late Gupta and Maukhari coins have been re-examined by the author. He says that the Maukhari coins may suggest the nature of relationship of the Maukharis with the Guptas. The epigraphic source refers to the hostile relations between them. He has examined current views about Sūryavarman. He also has dealt with the empire of the early Pālas, Dharmapāla and Devapāla. He is right in pointing out that it was from Magadha that the rays of the Pāla imperialism radiated to different parts of India. Then come the genealogical tables of the Imperial Maukharis. In the *select Bibliography* given by the author he ought to have mentioned Dr. B. M. Barua's *Gayā* and *Buddha-Gayā* and Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.* The titles of some books are wrongly given In pages 462-463 the correct titles are *Progress of Indic studies* and not *Progress of Indian studies, The Magadhas in ancient India* and not *Magadhas in ancient India,* and *Ujjayinī in ancient India* and not *Ujjainī in ancient India,* which should attract the attention of the author.

A serviceable index given at the end will greatly enhance the utility of the book. The list of errata is not complete. There are many more errors, e.g., *rebuiit* in page 164; *raktamrita* in page 259; *beneficient* in page 105.

The book as it stands is on the whole useful, but the collection of some statements is not at all careful. The documentation is not precise. We may not accept some views which appear to us untenable, but we can easily rely on facts carefully and conscientiously collected from important sources and sifted with considerable ability.

B. C. LAW

Select Contents of Periodicals

I. *Ancient India,* Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 8, 1952, New Delhi.

Porkalam 1948: Excavations of a Megalithic Urn-burial, by B. K. Thapar.

II. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the,* Vol. XL, Part 2, June 1954, Patna.

1. *Some Unpublished Inscriptions* by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
2. *A Report on Dhobadiha Rock Carvings* by Sri Vijayakanta Mishra.
3. *Life in the Buddhist Monastery during the 6th Century B.C.* by Madan Mohan Singh.
4. *Homeland of the Aryans* by Sri. Ramcharitra Singh.
5. *The Kautalyan State and a Welfare-State* by Dr. B. P. Sinha.

III. *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan,* No. 1, August 1954, Surat.

Asvaghosa and His Mahakavyas by R. G. Asti.

IV. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX, Part III, July 1951, New Delhi.

1. *Bangaon Plate of Vigrahapala III; Regnal year* 17 by D. C. Sircar.
2. *Kalidindi Grant of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I* by N. Venkataramanaya, Madras.
3. *Srirangam Inscription of Sadasivaraya: Saka* 1467 by K. G. Krishnan.
4. *Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi* by D. C. Sarkar.

V. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXX, No. 2, June 1954, Calcutta.

1. *Date of Bakhtyar's Raid on Nadiya* by Ahmad Hasan Dani.

2. *Kanauj After Harsha's Death* by Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya.
3. *Was there any Conflict between the Brahmins and the Buddhists?* by Y. Krishnan.

VI. *Journal of the University of Poona,* No. 1, 1953, Poona.

1. *Samma-Pasa and other Allied Sacrifices in Pali Literature* by Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona.
2. *A Rare Manuscript of a Commentary of the Siddhanta Kaumudi called Lilavati by Mimamsaka Giridhara* by P. K. Gode.
3. *Rudra in the Veda* by R. N. Dandekar.
4. *Introduction of the Bhojanasara* by G. V. Devasthali.

VII. *Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XVI, Part I, 1954, Bombay.

1. *Some Seal Stamps from the Tripuri Excavations,* 1953, by Moreshwar G. Dikshit.
2. *Nayanika, Satakarni and Satavahana* by Sant Lal Katare.
3. *A Further Note on the Identity of Kings Satavahana and Sati* by Parameshwari Lal Gupta.
4. *Observations on Some satavahana Coins* by H. V. Trivedi.
5. *A New Satavahana Coin from Bheraghat* by M. C. Choube.
6. *Hindu Elements in Early Muslim Coinage in India* by Ashoke Kumar Bhattacharya.

VIII. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the,* Vol. III, No. 4, June 1954, Baroda.

1. *Method of Writing in the Medieval India as Reflected in the Nüishadhiyacarita* by Dr. A. N. Jani.
2. *Some Aspects of Social History as Gleaned through Jaimini Grhyasutra* by Radhakrishna Chaudhary.

IX. *Oriental Thought,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1954, Nasik.

1. *Study-Tour in Buddhist Countries of South-East Asia* by P. V. Bapat.

2. *Date of Vasudeva's Commentary on the Karpuramanjari of Rajasekhara* by P. K. Gode.

X. *Prabuddha Bharata,* Vol. LIX, No. 11, November 1954, Calcutta.

Some Aspects of Education as Described in the Upanishads by Dr. Chinmoy Chatterji.

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